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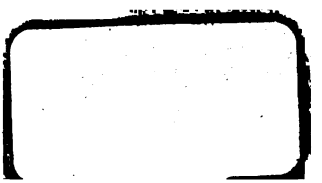
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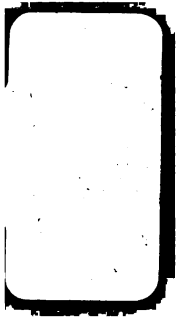
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1.8

HISTORY

OF THE

EARLY PART OF THE REIGN

OF

JAMES THE SECOND;

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

BY THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

To which is added,

AN APPENDIX.

PHILADELPHIA:

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1808.

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TO THE READER.

MR. FOX was for some years engaged in an historical Work, which he did not live to complete. The curiosity excited by the knowledge that he was so employed, would be sufficient to justify the publication of any Fragment of his labours, even if it had been found in a more unfinished state than the chapters which compose the body of this volume. It is, therefore, conceived, that although the work is incomplete, any apology would be misplaced, and that in fact, I only fulfil the wishes of the public, in laying before them all that can now be obtained of a history so earnestly expected from the pen of Mr. Fox.

An explanation, however, of the circumstances attending a posthumous publication, if not necessary for the satisfaction of the reader, is due to the memory and reputation of the author himself. Some notion of what he projected, seems requisite towards forming an estimate of what he performed; and in this instance, the rumours formerly circulated concerning the nature of his undertaking, and the materials which he had collected, render indispensable, a short statement of his intentions, and of the manner in which he prosecuted his researches. It will be yet more necessary to explain the state in which the manuscript was found, and the course which had been pursued in printing a work, respecting which no positive injunctions were ever received from the author.

The precise period at which Mr. Fox first formed the design of writing a history, cannot be ascertained. In the year 1797, he announced publicly his intention of devoting "a greater* portion of his time to his private pursuits:" He was even on the point of relinquishing his seat in Parliament, and retiring altogether from public life, a plan which he had formed many years before, and to the execution of which he always looked forward with the greatest delight. The remonstrances, however, of those friends, for whose judgment he had the greatest deference, ultimately prevailed. He consequently confined his scheme of retreat to a more uninterrupted residence in the country, than he had hitherto permitted himself to enjoy. During his retirement, that love of literature, and fondness for poetry, which neither pleasure nor business had ever extinguished, revived with an ardour, such as few in the eagerness of youth, or in pursuit of fame or advantage, are capable of feeling. For some time, however, his studies were not directed to any particular object. Such was the happy disposition of his mind, that his own reflections, whether supplied by conversation, desultory reading, or the common occurrences of a life in the country, were always sufficient to call forth the vigour and exertion of his faculties. Intercourse with the world had so little deadened in him the sense of the simplest enjoyments, that even in the hours of apparent leisure and inactivity, he retained that keen relish of existence, which, after the first impressions of life, is so rarely excited but by great interests and strong passions. Hence it was, that in the interval between his active attendance in Parliament, and the undertaking of his History,

* Vide Parliamentary Debates, May 26, 1797.

he never felt the tedium of a vacant day. A verse in Cowper, which he frequently repeated,

> How various his employments whom the world
> Calls idle!

was an accurate description of the life he was then leading; and I am persuaded, that if he had consulted his own gratifications only, it would have continued to be so. The circumstances which led him once more to take an active part in public discussions, are foreign to the purposes of this Preface. It is sufficient to remark, that they could not be foreseen, and that his notion of engaging in some literary undertaking was adopted during his retirement, and with the prospect of long and uninterrupted leisure before him. When he had determined upon employing some part of it in writing, he was, no doubt, actuated by a variety of considerations, in the choice of the task he should undertake. His philosophy had never rendered him insensible to the gratification which the hope of posthumous fame so often produces in great minds; and, though criticism might be more congenial to the habits and amusements of his retreat, an historical work seemed more of a piece with the tenour of his former life, and might prove of greater benefit to the public, and to posterity. These motives, together with his intimate knowledge of the English Constitution, naturally led him to prefer the history of his own country, and to select a period favourable to the illustration of the great general principles of freedom, on which it is founded; for his attachment to those principles, the result of practical observation, as well as philosophical reflection, far from having abated, had acquired new force and fresh vigour in his retirement.

With these views, it was almost impossible that he should not fix on the Revolution of 1688. The event was cheering and animating. It was the most signal triumph of that cause to which his public life had been devoted; and in a review of its progress, he could not fail to recognize those principles which had regulated his own political conduct. But the choice of that period was recommended by yet higher considerations; the desire of rescuing from misrepresentation, the most glorious transaction of our history; the opportunity of instructing his countrymen in the real nature of their Constitution; and the hope of impressing on mankind those lessons applicable to all times, which are to be drawn from that memorable occurrence.

The manner in which the most popular historians, and other writers of eminence, had treated the subject, was likely to stimulate him more strongly to such an undertaking. It could not escape the observation of Mr. Fox, that some, from the bias of their individual opinions, had given a false colour to the whole transaction; that others had wilfully distorted the facts to serve some temporary purpose; and that Bolingbroke, in particular, had confounded the distinct and even opposite views of the two leading parties, who, though they concurred in the measure, retained even in their union, all their respective tenets and fundamental distinctions.

According to his first crude conceptions of the work, it would, as far as I recollect, have begun at the Revolution; but he altered his mind, after a careful perusal of the latter part of Hume's history. An apprehension of the false impressions which that great historian's partiality, might have left on the mind of his readers, induced him to go back to the accession of King James the Second, and even to prefix

an Introductory Chapter, on the character and leading events, of the times immediately preceding.

From the moment his labour commenced, he generally spoke of his plan as extending no further than the settlement at the Revolution. His friends, however, were not without hopes, that the habit of composition might engage him more deeply in literary undertakings, or that the different views which the course of his enquiries would open, might ultimately allure him on further in the history of his country. Some casual expressions, both in conversation and correspondence, seemed to imply that the possibility of such a result was not entirely out of his own contemplation. He acknowledged that some papers which I had the good fortune to procure in Spain, "though they did not relate to "his period exactly, might be very useful to him, and at all "events entertaining; nay, possibly, that they might make "him go on further than he intended."*....As his work advanced, his allusions to various literary projects, such as an edition of Dryden, a Defence of Racine and the French Stage, Essay on the Beauties of Euripides, &c. &c. became more frequent, and were more confidently expressed. In a letter written to me in 1803, after observing that a modern writer did not sufficiently admire Racine, he adds"It puts me quite in a passion. *Je veux contre eux* "*faire un jour un gros livre*, as Voltaire says. Even Dry- "den, who speaks with proper respect of Corneille *vili-* "*pends*† Racine, If ever I publish my edition of his "works, I will give it him for it, you may depend. Oh "how I wish that I could make up my mind to think it "right, to devote all the remaining part of my life to such

* MS. Correspondence.

† Mr. Fox often used this word in ridicule of pedantic expressions.

" subjects, and such only! Indeed I rather think I shall;
" and yet, if there were a chance of re-establishing a strong
" Whig party, (however composed,)

" Non adeo has exosa manus victoria fugit
" Ut tanta quicquam pro spe tentare recusem

Even while his undertaking was yet fresh, in the course of an enquiry into some matters relating to the trial of Somerset, in King James the First's reign, he says to his correspondent, " But what is all this, you will say, to my
" history? Certainly nothing; but one historical enquiry
" leads to another; and I recollect that the impression upon
" my mind was, that there was more reason than is gene-
" rally allowed, for suspecting that Prince Henry was poi-
" soned by Somerset, and that the King knew of it after
" the fact. This is not, to be sure, to my present purpose;
" but I have thought of prefixing to my work, if it ever
" should be finished, a disquisition upon Hume's History
" of the Stewarts, and in no part of it would his partiality
" appear stronger, than in James the First."*

About the same time he talked of writing, either in the form of a dedication, or dialogue, a treatise on the three arts of Poetry, History, and Oratory; which, to my surprise, he classed in the order I have related. The plan of such a work seemed, in a great measure, to be digested in his head, and from the sketch he drew of his design to me, it would, if completed, have been an invaluable monument of the great originality of thought, and singular philosophical acuteness, with which he was accustomed to treat of such subjects in his most careless conversations. But though a variety of literary projects might occasionally

* MS. Correspondence to Lord Lauderdale.

come across him, he was very cautious of promising too much; for he was aware that whatever he undertook, his progress in it would necessarily be extremely slow. He could not but foresee, that as new events arose, his friends would urge him to return to politics; and though his own inclinations might enable him to resist their entreaties, the very discussion on the propriety of yielding, would produce an attention to the state of public affairs, and divert him in some degree from the pursuit in which he was engaged. But it was yet more difficult to fortify himself against the seductions of his own inclination, which was continually drawing him off from his historical researches, to critical enquiries, to the study of the classics, and to works of imagination and poetry. Abundant proof exists of the effect of these interruptions, both on his labours and on his mind. His letters are filled with complaints, of such as arose from politics, while he speaks with delight and complacency of whole days devoted to Euripides and Virgil.

The scale which his various pursuits occupied in his estimation, is very naturally described in several of his letters. And as it is not entirely foreign to the purpose of this Preface, my readers may not be displeased with the insertion of one, as a specimen of his familiar correspondence.

" Dear Grey.

" In defence of my opinion about the nightingales, I find " Chaucer, who of all poets seems to have been the fond- " est of the singing of birds, calls it a *merry* note; and " though Theocritus mentions nightingales six or seven " times, he never mentions their note as plaintive or melan- " choly. It is true, he does not call it any where merry, " as Chaucer does; but by mentioning it with the song of

" the blackbird, and as answering it, he seems to imply, " that it was a cheerful note. Sophocles is against us; but " even *he* says, lamenting *Itys*, and the comparison of her " to Electra, is rather as to perseverance day and night, " than as to sorrow. At all events, a tragic poet is not " half so good authority in this question, as Theocritus and " Chaucer. I cannot light upon the passage in the Odyssey, " where Penelope's restlessness is compared to the night- " ingale; but I am sure that it is only as to restlessness " and watchfulness, that he makes the comparison. If you " will read the last twelve books of the Odyssey, you will " certainly find it, and I am sure you will be paid for your " hunt, whether you find it or not. The passage in Chau- " cer is in the Flower and Leaf, p. 99. The one I particu- " larly allude to in Theocritus, is in his Epigrams, I think " in the fourth. Dryden has transferred the word *merry* " to the goldfinch, in the Flower and the Leaf; in defer- " ence, may be, to the vulgar error; but pray read his de- " scription of the nightingale there: It is quite delightful. " I am afraid I like these researches as much better than " those that relate to Shaftesbury, Sunderland, &c. as I do " those better than attending the House of Commons.

" Your's, affectionately,

" C. J. FOX."

The fact is, he struggled so little against such inclinations, that when pressed to sacrifice his Greek studies for a time, he answers, " I have no thoughts of throwing away " my Greek books, and would give up the whole plan if I " thought it incompatible with my giving a little time to " them."*

* MS. Correspondence.

But it was not merely the interference of other occupations, whether of business or amusement, that impeded the progress of his work.

He knew by experience, that he was as slow in composition, as he was rapid in public speaking. He had employed many days in writing his Letter to the Electors of Westminster, in 1793; and even the publication of his Speech * on the late Duke of Bedford, (the only instance in which he ever revised what he had delivered in public,) occupied a greater portion of his time than could be easily imagined, by those who were unacquainted with his scrupulous attention to all the niceties of language. In addition to these circumstances he soon perceived that his scrupulous exactness, with respect to all the circumstances of any fact which he was obliged either to relate or advert to, would retard him by the multiplicity and minuteness of the researches it would occasion....." History goes on, (he " remarked,) but it goes on very slowly. The fact is, I am " a very slow writer, but I promise I will persevere. I be- " lieve I am too scrupulous both about language and facts; " though with respect to the latter, it is hardly possible. It " is astonishing how many facts one finds related, for which

* Having mentioned these works, I take this opportunity of adding, that, with the exception of the 14th, 16th, and perhaps a few other numbers of a periodical publication in 1779, called the Englishman, and an Epitaph on the late Bishop of Downe, they are the only pieces of prose he ever printed; unless indeed, one were to reckon his Advertisements to Electors, and the parliamentary Papers which he may have drawn up.

There are several specimens of his composition in verse, in different languages: but the lines on Mrs. Crewe, and those to Mrs. Fox, on his birthday, are, as far as I recollect, all that have been printed. An Ode to Poverty, and an Epigram upon Gibbon, though very generally attributed to him, are certainly not his compositions.

" there is no authority whatever. Tradition, you will say, " does in some cases, but it will not apply to others."*

Even while he was employed in the Introduction, in which, " as it was rather a discussion alluding to known " facts, than a minute enquiry into disputed points," † he acknowledged that " it was not so important to be exact to " a nicety;" he nevertheless found some difficulty in tracing the information of historians to their original sources. Upon this, as upon all other occasions, where he stood in need of active assistance, he had recourse to the advice and friendship of Lord Lauderdale; and the following letter was the first step he took in those researches, which, after a long series of enquiries, enabled him both to ascertain the nature, and the fate of the Scotch College Manuscripts, and to procure a valuable collection of papers from the Depot of Foreign Affairs at Paris.

TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.‡

" DEAR LAUDERDALE,

" I am seriously thinking of becoming an historian, and " have indeed begun; but my progress hitherto is so little, " that it is not worth mentioning, except upon the principle " of *dimidium qui cepit*. As to what people may expect, I " know not. If much, they will be disappointed; but I " certainly do not intend to decline the labour of any search, " which I am able to make, and much less to refuse any " assistance I can have in such research. I hope, therefore, " you will not be satisfied with merely recommending to " me to make use of assistance, but give me some hint of

* MS. Correspondence. † MS. Correspondence.

‡ This letter was written in the beginning of the year 1800.

" what nature, and from whom I may get it. To enable " you to do this better, it is necessary to inform you, that " the death of Charles the Second is the period from which " I commence my history; though in my Introduction, I " take a pretty full view of his reign, and consequently, " should be glad enough to get new lights with regard to " it. Even this Introductory Chapter, however, is not yet " finished. Next, it is fit you should know, that so far from " having as yet examined, or even looked into any manu- " script papers, or other documents not generally known, " I do not even know where any such exist, and, there- " fore, any information on that head will be very welcome. " I find one of my greatest difficulties to be, how to disco- " ver the authorities upon which historians advance their " facts, for they very often do not refer to them. Hither- " to, where I am only taking a cursory review, this is of no " great importance. But in regard to the Popish and " Rye-House plots particularly, I find both Rapin and " Hume advancing so many facts, for which I cannot guess " their authorities, that if I were to give a regular history " of these transactions, I should be much puzzled. Now, " when I am under difficulties of this sort, can you either " direct me to whom I can apply for a solution of them? " or if I send queries to you, can you give me answers to " them?"

With both the above requests Lord Lauderdale complied; and by his own diligence, and the assistance of Mr. Laing, was enabled to transmit to Mr. Fox much useful information. In a very short time afterwards that Gentleman published his History of Scotland, a work which Mr. Fox emphatically termed " a treasure," and which so animated his labours, by opening new sources of information,

and new views of transactions, that at no period was he so ardent in the prosecution of his plan, as when fresh from the perusal of that valuable performance. The advantages he derived from it he frequently declared to be incalculable; and it certainly was not among the least, that it afforded him an opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the Author, and consulting him on many points connected with his own undertaking. As the early part of his correspondence is of a general nature, I subjoin his first letter, and an extract from the second.

TO MALCOLM LAING, ESQ.

"SIR,

"I ought long since to have acknowledged the receipt "of your History of Scotland, and to have returned you "my thanks for your early communication to me of that "excellent work. It has given me the greatest satisfaction; "and there are several points relating to *English* history in "it, which you appear to me to have cleared up much more "than any other of those historians who have professedly "treated of them.

"What you say in answer to Hume, upon the subject of "Glamorgan's powers, is quite conclusive; but I rather "regret that you have not taken notice of that part of his "argument which is built upon what he calls Glamorgan's "defeazance, and which is the most plausible part of it.

"In Charles the Second's reign, I observe that you do "not mention the atrocious case of Wier, which Hume "details; but that which you say of Laurie of Blackwood "is very like what he relates of Wier. Would it be too "much trouble to ask of you to let me know whether "Hume's statement of Wier is a correct one?

" I had detected the trick of Hume's theatrical and false " representation of Charles the First hearing the noise of " his scaffold, but did not know that he had had Herbert's " authentic account so lately under his eye. In general, I " think you treat him (Hume) too tenderly. He was an " excellent man, and of great powers of mind, but his par- " tiality to kings and princes is intolerable. Nay, it is, in " my opinion, quite ridiculous, and is more like the foolish " admiration which women and children sometimes have " for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.

" I wanted no conviction on the point of Ossian ; but if " I had, you afforded abundance.

" Whether your book, coming out at a period when the " principles upon which it appears to be written are becom- " ing so unfashionable, will be a popular one or not, I know " not ; but to all who wish to have a true knowledge of the " history of your country, it is a most valuable acquisition, " and will serve to counteract the mischief which Hume, " Dalrymple, Macpherson, Somervile, and others of your " countrymen have done. You will easily believe that I " do not class Hume with the Others, except as to the bad " tendency of their representations.

" I shall desire my friend, Lord Lauderdale, to trans- " mit this to you.

" I am, with great regard,

" Sir,

" Your most obedient servant,

" C. J. FOX.

St. Anne's Hill, Sept. 24, 1800.

Extract from a Second Letter to Mr. LAING.

" Many thanks to you, my dear Sir, for yours of the " 10th. I have found the place in Ralph, and a great deal " more important matter relative to the transactions of " those times, which is but slightly touched by other his- " torians. I am every day more and more surprised, that " Ralph should have had so much less reputation as an his- " torian than he seems to deserve.

" I will trouble you freely when I shall have farther ques- " tions to ask ; but I should take it very ill if you were so " to confine your answer to mere matters of reference, as " not to give me your opinion, when you form any, upon " the points in question."

A correspondence ensued, from which it appears that he took indefatigable pains to investigate the authority for every assertion in the writers he consulted, and to correct the slightest variation in their accounts, though apparently of little importance. Before he drew any inference whatever, the weight of evidence was so carefully balanced in his mind, that the authority for each particular circumstance was separately examined, and distinctly ascertained. Indeed the necessity and even use of such extreme circumspection, such scrupulous sifting of his most minute materials, might at first sight appear questionable. But many parts of the work are sufficient to prove that such labours were far from being fruitless. An instance is easily selected. His enquiries concerning the seizure and execution of the Earl of Argyle, are contained in the correspondence with Mr. Laing, and they are of the nature I have described ; but on reading his narrative of those events, the advantages he derived from the circumstantial minuteness of his mate-

rials, will not be found less striking, than his diligence in procuring and analyzing them.

One of the earliest and greatest difficulties that he encountered in the course of his labours, arose from the manner in which Mr. Macpherson and Sir J. Dalrymple had explained and conducted their respective publications, and which he always considered as unsatisfactory. His complaints of both these authors were frequent; and the more he examined and studied their books, the more he perceived the necessity of making some further researches. He was anxious, if possible, to consult the original documents from which their extracts were made; and he was at first apprehensive, that nothing short of an examination of all the manuscripts of the Scotch College at Paris, could enable him to determine the degree of credit due to the extracts of Macpherson. But he must very soon have despaired of obtaining that satisfaction, for he had strong reasons to suspect, even before his journey to Paris in 1802, that the most valuable part, if not the whole of them, had been destroyed. Three important points however, might yet be ascertained:....1st, Of what the manuscripts, so long preserved in the Scotch College at Paris, actually consisted; 2ndly, To what part of them either Carte or Macpherson had access;....3dly, whether any portion, copies, or fragments, of the papers were still in existence. The result of his enquiries will be best given in his own words, though upon the first point he had ascertained * something more than appears from the following extract of his letter to Mr. Laing.

* Among Mr. Fox's papers was found a list of "the works which "were placed in the Scotch College at Paris, soon after the death of

" With respect to Carte's extract, I have no doubt but " it is faithfully copied; but on this extract it is necessary " to make an observation, which applies to all the rest, both " of Carte's and Macpherson's, and which leads to the de- " tection of an imposture of the latter, as impudent as " Ossian itself. The extracts are evidently made, not from " a journal, but from a narrative; and *I have now ascer-* " *tained beyond all doubt*, that there were in the Scotch Col- " lege *two distinct* manuscripts, one in James's own hand, " consisting of papers of different sizes bound up together, " and the other a sort of historical narrative, compiled from " the former. The narrative was *said* to have been revised " and corrected, as to style, by Dryden* the poet, (mean- " ing probably Charles Dryden, the great poet's son,) and " it was not known in the College whether it was drawn up " in James's life, or by the direction of his son, the Pre- " tender. I doubt whether Carte ever saw the original " journal; but I learn, from undoubted authority, that Mac- " pherson never did; and yet to read his Preface, page 6

" James the Second, and were there at the time of the French Revolu- " tion." It is as follows:

Four volumes folio, six volumes quarto,	Memoirs in James the Second's own hand writing, beginning from the time that he was sixteen years of age.
Two thin quarto volumes,	Containing letters from Charles the Second's ministers to James the Second (then Duke of York,) when he was at Brussels and in Scotland, MS.
Two thin quarto volumes,	Containing Letters from Charles the Second to his brother, James Duke of York, MS.

* It is the opinion of the present possessor of the narrative, that it was compiled from the original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the Superiors of the College, and author of a work entitled, *A Critical Essay on the ancient Inhabitants of Scotland.*

" and 7, (which pray advert to,) one would have supposed, " not only that he had inspected it accurately, but that all " *his* extracts at least, if not Carte's also, were taken from " it. Macpherson's impudence in attempting such an im- " position, at a time when almost any man could have de- " tected him, would have been in another man, incredible, " if the internal evidence of the extracts themselves against " him were not corroborated by the testimony of the prin- " cipal persons of the College. And this leads me to a " point of more importance to me. Principal Gordon " thought, when I saw him at Paris, in October 1802, that " all the papers were lost. I now hear from a well-inform- " ed person, that the most material, viz. those written in " James's own hand-writing, were indeed lost, and in the " way mentioned by Gordon, but that the Narrative, from " which only Macpherson made his extracts, is still exist- " ing, and that Mr. Alexander Cameron, Blackfriars Wynd, " Edinburgh, either has it himself, or knows where it is to " be found."

The above information was correct. There is strong presumptive evidence, that the Manuscripts of King James the Second were destroyed, but the Narrative, as described, was then, and is now, in the hands of Dr. Cameron, Roman Catholic Bishop in Edinburgh. It could not be in possession of a person who is better qualified to judge of its merits, and on whose fidelity, should he be induced to print it, the public might more implicitly rely. I am indebted to his accuracy and friendship, for some additional information respecting the manner in which the Manuscripts of the Scotch College were lost. As the facts are in themselves curious, I lay before the reader his succinct and in-

teresting relation of them, contained in a letter to me, dated Edinburgh, March 2, 1808.

"Before Lord Gower, the British Embassador, left Paris, "in the beginning of the French Revolution, he wrote to "Principal Gordon, and offered to take charge of those "valuable papers, (King James's Manuscripts, &c.) and "deposit them in some place of safety in Britain. I know "not what answer was returned, but nothing was done. "Not long thereafter, the Principal came to England, and "the care of every thing in the College devolved on Mr. "Alexander Innes, the only British subject who remained "in it. About the same time, Mr. Stapleton, then Presi-"dent of the English College of St. Omer, afterwards "Bishop in England, went to Paris, previously to his re-"tiring from France, and Mr. Innes, who had resolved not "to abandon his post, consulted with him about the means "of preserving the manuscripts. Mr. Stapleton thought, if "he had them at St. Omer, he could, with small risk con-"vey them to England. It was therefore resolved, that they "should be carefully packed up, addressed to a French-"man, a confidential friend of Mr. Stapleton, and remitted "by some public carriage. Some other things were put "up with the Manuscripts. The whole arrived without any "accident, and was laid in a cellar. But the patriotism of "the Frenchman becoming suspicious, perhaps upon ac-"count of his connection with the English College, he was "put in prison; and his wife apprehensive of the conse-"quences of being found to have English manuscripts, "richly bound and ornamented with Royal arms, in her "house, cut off the boards, and destroyed them. The "Manuscripts thus disfigured, and more easily huddled up "in a sort of bundle, were secretly carried, with papers be-

" longing to the Frenchman himself, to his country-house;
" and buried in the garden. They were not, however,
" permitted to remain long there; the lady's fears increased,
" and the Manuscripts were taken up and reduced to ashes.

" This is the substance of the account given to Mr. Innes,
" and reported by him to me in June, 1802, in Paris. I
" desired it might be authenticated by a *proces verbale*. A
" letter was therefore written to St. Omer, either by Mr.
" Innes, or by Mr. Cleghorn, a lay gentleman, who had re-
" sided in the English College of St. Omer, and was per-
" sonally acquainted with the Frenchman, and happened to
" be at Paris at this time. The answer given to this letter
" was, that the good man, under the pressure of old age and
" other infirmities, was alarmed by the proposal of a dis-
" cussion and investigation, which revived in his memory
" past sufferings, and might, perhaps, lead to a renewal of
" them. Any further correspondence upon the subject
" seemed useless, especially as I instructed Mr. Innes to
" go to St. Omer, and clear up every doubt, in a formal and
" legal manner, that some authentic document might be
" handed down to posterity concerning those valuable Ma-
" nuscripts. I did not foresee that war was to be kindled
" up anew, or that my friend Mr. Innes was to die so soon.

" Mr. Cleghorn, whom I mentioned above, is at present
" in the Catholic seminary of Old Hall Green, Puckeridge,
" Hertfordshire. He can probably name another gentleman
" who saw the Manuscripts at St. Omer, and saved some
" small things, (but unconnected with the Manuscripts,)
" which he carried away in his pocket, and has still in his
" possession.

" I need not trouble your Lordship with my reflexions
" upon this relation: but I ought not to omit that I was

" told, sometimes, that all the Manuscripts, as well as their " boards, were consumed by fire in the cellar in which they " had been deposited upon their arrival at St. Omer."

The gentleman alluded to in the latter part of the above letter, is Mr. Mostyn, from whom Mr. Butler of Lincoln's Inn very kindly procured a statement of the particulars relating to this subject, in the year 1804, and transmitted it to Mr. Fox. It contains in substance, though with some additional circumstances, and slight variations, the same account as Mr. Cameron's, up to the period of the writer's leaving St. Omer, which was previous to the imprisonment of the Frenchman.*

Mr. Fox, in a letter to Mr. Laing, remarks, that, " to " know that a paper is lost, is next best to getting a sight " of it, and in some instances nearly as good." So many rumours have been circulated, and so many misapprehensions prevailed, respecting the contents and the fate of the manuscripts formerly deposited in the Scotch College at Paris, that it is hoped the above account, the result of the Historian's researches, will not be deemed out of it's place in a Preface to a History of the times to which those manuscripts related.

The Scotch College papers were not, however, the only, nor even the chief object of Mr. Fox's historical enquiries at Paris. He had remarked, that Sir John Dalrymple frequently " quotes, or rather refers to,†" documents in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangeres*, without printing the letter, or extracting the passage from which his statements are ta-

* Mr. Mostyn's letter to Mr. Butler was published in one of the Magazines, it would therefore be superfluous to reprint it. The name of the Frenchman was Mr. Charpentier and his country house was at St. Momelin, near St. Omer.

† M S. Correspondence.

ken, and his inferences drawn. This made him particularly desirous of examining the Original letters of Barillon; and he was not without hopes that many other papers in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangeres*, might prove equally interesting and important. It was obvious, however, that during war, he could not have personal access to such documents. He was therefore on the point of applying, through some private friend at Paris, for a copy of such letters as he could distinctly describe to his correspondent, when the restoration of peace enabled him to repair thither; and the liberality of the French Government opened to him the archives of the Foreign Affairs without reserve, and afforded him every facility and convenience for consulting and copying such papers as appeared to him to be material. He lost no time in availing himself of this permission, and while he remained at Paris, he passed a great part of every morning at the *Depot des Affaires Etrangeres*, accompanied by his friends Lord St. John, Mr. Adair, and Mr. Trotter, who assisted him in examining and transcribing the original papers.

The correspondence of Barillon did not disappoint his expectations. He thought the additional information contained in those parts of it, which Sir John Dalrymple had omitted to extract or to publish, so important, that he procured copies of them all; he observed to one of his correspondents, "my studies in Paris have been useful beyond "what I can describe:" and his expression to me was, that "Barillon's letters were worth their weight in gold."* It should seem that he discovered some curious circumstances from the correspondence of D'Avaux, for he copied

* MS. Correspondence.

out those letters also at length, though a large collection or abstract of them had been formerly published.

The correspondence of the above mentioned French Ministers with their Court, formed the chief materials which he brought over with him from France. He was disappointed at my failing to procure him that of the Spanish Ambassador,* resident in London during the same period, "which, he said, would have given him advantages of the "greatest consequence over all other historians." The papers, however, of which he was already in possession, were, in his judgment, sufficient to throw new light upon many transactions of the reign of King James the Second. If, therefore, unforeseen circumstances had not occurred, soon after his return, to retard the progress of his work, there can be little doubt, but he would have composed more during that year, than he had been able to complete since the commencement of the undertaking. He was at first occupied in inserting into the parts he had finished, such additional information as he had drawn from the sources opened to him by his researches at Paris. This was to him a task of greater labour than at first sight might be expected. "I find," he says, "piecing in the bits "which I have written from my Parisian materials, a trou-"blesome job."† It is indeed probable, that his difficulties upon this occasion, were greater than any other modern historian would have had to encounter. I have

* Don Pedro Ronquillo. Mr. Fox commissioned me to obtain for him, copies of his Letters from 1685 to 1688 inclusive. By a perverse piece of luck, I fell in with and purchased his original Letters from 1689 to 1691; but could never find any traces whatever of his previous correspondence.

† MS. Correspondence.

mentioned them more particularly, because they in some measure arose from his scrupulous attention to certain notions he entertained on the nature of an historical composition. If indeed the work were finished, the nature of his design would be best collected from his execution of it; but as it is unfortunately in an incomplete and unfinished state, his conception of the duties of an historian may very possibly be misunderstood. The consequence would be, that some passages, which, according to modern taste, must be called peculiarities, might with superficial critics, pass for defects which he had overlooked, or imperfections which he intended to correct. It is, therefore, necessary to observe, that he had formed his plan so exclusively on the model of ancient writers, that he not only felt some repugnance to the modern practice of notes, but he thought that all which an historian wished to say, should be introduced as part of a continued narration, and never assume the appearance of a digression, much less of a dissertation annexed to it. From the period therefore that he closed his Introductory Chapter, he defined his duty as an author, to consist in recounting the facts as they arose, or in his simple and forcible language, *in telling the story of those times*. A conversation which passed on the subject of the literature of the age of James the Second, proves his rigid adherence to these ideas, and perhaps the substance of it may serve to illustrate and explain them. In speaking of the writers of that period, he lamented that he had not devised a method of interweaving any account of them or their works, much less any criticism on their style, into his History. On my suggesting the example of Hume and Voltaire, who had discussed such topics at some length, either at the end of each reign, or in a separate chapter,

he observed, with much commendation of their execution of it, that such a contrivance might be a good mode of writing critical essays, but that it was, in his opinion, incompatible with the nature of his undertaking, which, if it ceased to be a narrative, ceased to be a history.

Such restraints undoubtedly operated as taxes upon his ingenuity, and added to that labour which the observance of his general laws of composition rendered sufficiently great. On the rules of writing he had reflected much, and deeply. His own habits naturally led him to compare them with those of public speaking, and the different, and even opposite principles upon which excellence is to be attained in these two great arts, were no unusual topics of his conversation. The difference did not, in his judgment, consist so much in language or diction, as in the arrangement of thoughts, the length and construction of sentences, and, if I may borrow a phrase familiar to public speakers, in the mode of putting an argument. A writer, to preserve his perspicuity, must keep distinct and separate those parts of a discourse, which the orator is enabled by modulation of voice and with the aid of action, to bring at once into view, without confounding or perplexing his audience. Frequency of allusion, which in speaking produces the happiest effect, in writing renders the sense obscure, and interrupts the simplicity of the discourse. Even those sudden turns, those unforeseen flashes of wit which, struck out at the moment, dazzle and delight a public assembly, appear cold and inanimate, when deliberately introduced into a written composition.

A perusal of the Letter to the Electors of Westminster, will shew how scrupulously Mr. Fox attended to these distinctions. That work was written in the heat of a Session

of Parliament. It treated professedly of subjects upon which the writer was daily in the habit of speaking, with his usual force of argument and variety of illustration. Notwithstanding these circumstances, no political tract of any note in our language, is in form or style less oratorical, or, with the exception of one passage, more free from those peculiarities, which the practice of public speaking seems calculated to produce. Such a strict observance of these principles must have cost him great trouble and attention. He was so apprehensive that his writings might retain some traces of that art, in the exercise of which he had employed the greater part of his life, that he frequently rejected passages, which in any other author would not have appeared liable to such an objection. He seems even to have distrusted his own judgment upon this subject; and after having taken the greatest pains, he was never sufficiently satisfied of his own success. If we except the account of the Earl of Argyle, the Introductory Chapter is unquestionably the most correct and finished part of the present publication. He did not, however, conceive it to be entirely exempt from a defect to which he apprehended that his works must be peculiarly exposed. He says to his correspondent, "I have at last finished my Introduc-"tion, which after all is more like a speech than it should "be."

Simplicity, both in expression and construction, was the quality in style which he most admired, and the beauty he chiefly endeavoured to attain. He was the most scrupulously anxious to preserve this character in his writings, because he thought that the example of some great writers had, in his own time, perverted the taste of the public, and that their imitators had corrupted the purity of the English language.

Though he frequently commended both Hume's and Blackstone's style, and always spoke of Middleton's with admiration, he once assured me, that he would admit no word into his book, for which he had not the authority of Dryden.

He was scarcely less nice about phrases and expressions. It is indeed possible, that those of his readers, who have formed their taste upon Johnson or Gibbon, or taken their notions of style from the criticisms of late years, may discover, in the course of the work, some idioms which are now seldom admitted into the higher classes of composition. To speak without reserve upon a subject in which his judgment, as an author, may be called in question, it appears to me more likely, that such phrases should have been introduced upon system, than that they should have escaped his observation, and crept in through inadvertence. The work is indeed, "*incomplete and unfinished;*" but it is not with reference to any phrases, which may be supposed to be too familiar, or colloquial, that such a description has been given of it. Such was the Author's abhorrence of any thing that savoured of pedantry or affectation, that if he was ever reduced to the alternative of an inflated or homely expression, I have no doubt but he preferred the latter. This persuasion, in addition to many other considerations, has induced me religiously to preserve, in the publication of this Work, every phrase and word of the Original Manuscript. Those who are disposed to respect his authority, may have the satisfaction of knowing, that there is not one syllable in the following Chapters, which is not the genuine production of Mr. Fox. That there are several passages, (especially in the latter end of the text,) which he *might* that there are some, which he obviously *would*, have corrected, is unquestionable; but, with the knowledge of such

scrupulous attention to language in an author, to have substituted any word or expression, for that which he had written, would not have been presumption only but injustice.

The manuscript book from which this Work has been printed is, for the most part, in the hand-writing of Mrs. Fox. It was written out under the inspection of Mr. Fox, and is occasionally corrected by him. His habit was seldom or ever to be alone, when employed in composition. He was accustomed to write on covers of letters or scraps of paper, sentences which he, in all probability, had turned in his mind, and, in some degree formed in the course of his walks, or during his hours of leisure. These he read over to Mrs. Fox; she wrote them out in a fair hand in the book; and before he destroyed the original paper he examined and approved of the copy. In the course of thus dictating from his own writing, he often altered the language, and even the construction of the sentence. Though he generally tore the scraps of paper as soon as the passages were entered in the book, several have been preserved; and it is plain, from the erasures and alterations in them, that they had undergone much revision and correction before they were read to his Amanuensis.

It is necessary to observe, that I am indebted to Mr. Laing both for advice and assistance in the division of the paragraphs, the annexing of marginal notes and references, the selection of the Appendix, and the superintendance of the press. From his judgment and experience, I have derived great benefit; and his friendship in undertaking the task has afforded me the further satisfaction of reflecting, that I have been guided throughout by that advice to which

the Author himself would have wished me on such an occasion to have recourse.

The Appendix consists, with some few exceptions, of such part of Barillon's correspondence from the death of Charles the Second to the Prorogation of Parliament in 1685, as Sir John Dalrymple omitted to publish. As the letters of a subsequent date, however curious and interesting, have no relation to the short period of history included in the following Chapters, they have not been annexed to the present publication.

This account will be sufficient to explain all the circumstances attending the design, progress, and state of the Work, as well as the manner in which it is now brought before the public. If any should object to my having entered into so much detail respecting those points, I have no other excuse to offer, than the nature of the task I had undertaken, and the extreme anxiety, that no fault or omission of the Editor should by any possibility be attributed to the Author. Perhaps it may be necessary to forestall an observation of a very different description. Those who admired Mr. Fox in public, and those who loved him in private, must naturally feel desirous that some memorial should be preserved of the great and good qualities of his head and heart. Some among them may think that the present account should not have been confined to such matters only as relate to the unfinished work to which it is prefixed. It is true that, at the melancholy period of his death, advantage was taken of the interest excited by all that concerned him, to impose upon the public a variety of memoirs and anecdotes, (in the form of pamphlets,) as unfounded in fact, as they were painful to his friends, and injurious to

his memory. The confident pretensions with which many of those publications were ushered into the world, may have given them some little circulation at the time; but the internal evidence of their falsehood was sufficiently strong to counteract any impression which their contents might be calculated to produce. It is not, therefore, with a view of exposing such misrepresentations, that any authentic account of the life of Mr. Fox can be deemed necessary. On the other hand, the objections to such an undertaking at present are obvious; and after much reflection, they have appeared to those connected with him to be insuperable. A compilation of his speeches, or of such transactions of his public life as are well known, might be, and probably has already been, executed with as much fidelity and success by others, as it could be by those who had the advantage of a closer intimacy or nearer connection with him. If more were attempted, either many interesting passages of his life must be omitted, and truth in some instances suppressed, or circumstances which might wound the feelings of individuals yet living, must be unnecessarily and wantonly disclosed to the public. No allusion is here made to any particular period, transaction, or person. The observation is general; it applies to the memoirs of every public man, and must, therefore be true in the instance of Mr. Fox.

These considerations have induced his family and friends to relinquish, for the present, any such design. It is, however a duty to the public, as well as to the memory of any great and good man, to preserve with the utmost diligence, all the materials which may enable a future biographer to do justice to the events of his life, and the merits of his character. With this view, the private letters of Mr. Fox have been carefully collected; and I am already indebted

to several of his correspondents for the originals or copies of such as were in their possession. It is hoped, that by these and further communications, the means will be secured of perpetuating the remembrance of his public and private virtues, and of conveying a faint, but just notion of his character to posterity.

In the mean while, his friends will contemplate with some satisfaction this monument, however imperfect, of his genius and acquirements; they will recognize throughout the work those noble and elevated principles, which animated his own conduct in life, and in the simplicity of the thoughts, as well as in the nature of the reflections, they cannot fail to discover a picture of his candid and amiable mind.

VASSALL HOLLAND.

Holland House, April 25th, 1808.

POSTSCRIPT.

MAY 4.

SINCE the preceding pages were printed, Serjeant Heywood has obligingly communicated to me copies of several letters which he received from Mr. Fox, on subjects connected with his History. They evince the same anxiety about facts, and the same minuteness of research, which have been remarked in his correspondence with Mr. Laing. But some of his readers may be gratified with the perusal of the following, as it contains his view of the character of Lord Shaftesbury, upon which so much difference of opinion has existed among historians.

"DEAR HEYWOOD,

"I am much obliged to you for your letter; of the hints "in which I shall avail myself, when I return to this place, "(as I hope,) before the end of the week. I go to town "to-morrow, and shall be in the House on Tuesday.

"I remember most of the passages in Madame de Se- "vigné, and will trouble you or Mrs. Heywood to hunt "for another, which I also remember, and which in some "views is of importance. If my memory does not deceive "me, in one of the early volumes, while Barillon is in "England, she mentions the reports of his being getting a "great deal of money there; but I have not lately been "able to find the passage. Pray observe, that notwith- "standing the violence against the Prince of Orange, Ma- "dame de Sevigné's good sense and candor make her allow, "that there is another view of the matter, in which the "Prince of Orange, fighting and conquering for a religion, "*qu'il crait la vraye*, &c. &c. appears a hero. Her account "of James, both for insensibility and courage, is quite at "variance with his apparent conduct before he went off. "Here he appears to have been deficient in courage, and "by no means in sensibility.

"I am quite glad I have little to do with Shaftesbury; "for as to making him a real patriot, or friend to our ideas "of liberty, it is impossible, at least in my opinion. On the "other hand, he is very far from being the devil he is de- "scribed. Indeed, he seems to have been strictly a man "of honour, if that praise can be given to one destitute of "*public* virtue, and who did not consider Catholics as fel- "low-creatures; a feeling very common in those times. "Locke was probably caught by his splendid qualities, his "courage, his openness, his party zeal, his eloquence, his

" fair dealing with his friends, and his superiority to
" vulgar corruption. Locke's partiality might make him,
" on the other hand, blind to the indifference with which
" he (Shaftesbury,) espoused either Monarchical, Arbitra-
" ry, or Republican principles, as best suited his ambition;
" but could it make him blind to the relentless cruelty with
" which he persecuted the Papists in the affair of the Po-
" pish Plot, merely, as it should seem, because it suited
" the purposes of the party with which he was then enga-
" ged ?....You know that some of the imputations against
" him are certainly false; the shutting up the Exchequer,
" for instance. But the two great blots of sitting on the
" Regicides, and his conduct in the Popish Plot, can never
" be wiped off. The second Dutch war is a bad business,
" in which he engaged heartily, and in which (notwith-
" standing all his apologists say,) he would have persever-
" ed, if he had not found the King was cheating him.

Your's ever,

" C. J. FOX."

Sunday, St. Ann's Hill,
Chertsey, November 20, 1803.

Serjeant Heywood, Harpur Street.

A HISTORY, &c.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Introductory Observations.....First Period, from Henry VII. to the year 1588.....Second Period, from 1588 to 1640.....Meeting of Parliament....Redress of Grievances.....Strafford's Attainder..... The commencement of the Civil War.....Treaty from the Isle of Wight.....The King's Execution....Cromwell's Power;....his character....Indifference of the Nation respecting Forms of Government....The Restoration....Ministry of Clarendon and Southampton.....Cabal.....Dutch War.....De Witt.....The Prince of Orange..... The Popish Plot.....The Habeas Corpus Act.....The Exclusion Bill....Dissolution of Charles the Second's last Parliament....His Power;.....his Tyranny in Scotland; in England.....Exorbitant Fines....Executions....Forfeitures of Charters....Despotism established.....Despondency of good Men.....Charles's Death:....His Character....Reflections upon the probable Consequences of his Reign and Death.

CHAP. I.

Introductory Observations.

IN reading the history of every country, there are certain periods at which the mind naturally pauses, to meditate upon, and consider them, with reference, not only to their immediate effects, but to their more remote consequences. After the wars of Marius and Sylla, and the incorporation, as it were, of all Italy with the city of Rome, we cannot but stop, to consider the consequences likely to result from these important events; and in this instance we find them to be just such as might have been expected.

First Period, from the accession of Henry VII. to the year 1588.

The reign of our Henry the Seventh, affords a field of more doubtful speculation. Every one who takes a retrospective view of the wars of York and Lancaster, and attends to the regulations effected by the po-

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licy of that prince, must see they would necessarily lead to great and important changes in the government; but what the tendency of such changes would be, and much more, in what manner they would be produced, might be a question of great difficulty. It is now the generally received opinion, and I think a probable opinion, that, to the provisions of that reign, we are to refer the origin, both of the unlimited power of the Tudors, and of the liberties wrested by our ancestors from the Stuarts; that tyranny was their immediate, and liberty their remote, consequence; but he must have great confidence in his own sagacity, who can satisfy himself, that, unaided by the knowledge of subsequent events, he could, from a consideration of the causes, have foreseen the succession of effects so different.

Second Period, from 1588 to 1640.

Another period, that affords ample scope for speculation of this kind, is that which is comprised between the years fifteen hundred and eighty-eight, and sixteen hundred and forty; a period of almost uninterrupted tranquillity and peace. The general improvement in all arts of civil life, and above all, the astonishing progress of literature, are the most striking among the general features of that period; and are in themselves causes sufficient to produce effects of the utmost importance. A country whose language was enriched by the works of Hooker, Raleigh, and Bacon, could not but experience a sensible change in its manners, and in its style of thinking; and even to speak the same language in which Spenser and Shakespeare had written, seemed a sufficient plea to rescue the Commons of England from the appellation of Brutes, with which Henry the Eighth had addressed them. Among the more particular effects of this general improvement, the most material, and worthy to be considered, appear to me to have been the fre-

quency of debate in the House of Commons, and the additional value that came to be set on a seat in that assembly.

From these circumstances, a sagacious observer may be led to expect the most important revolutions; and from the latter, he may be enabled to foresee that the House of Commons will be the principal instrument in bringing them to pass. But in what manner will that House conduct itself? Will it content itself with its regular share of legislative power, and with the influence which it cannot fail to possess, whenever it exerts itself upon the other branches of the legislative, and on the executive power? or will it boldly (perhaps rashly) pretend to a power commensurate with the natural rights of the representative of the people? If it should, will it not be obliged to support its claims by military force? And how long will such a force be under its controul? How long before it follows the usual course of all armies, and ranges itself under a single master? If such a master should arise, will he establish an hereditary, or an elective government? If the first, what will be gained but a change of dynasty? If the second, will not the military force, as it chose the first king or protector (the name is of no importance) choose in effect all his successors? or will he fail, and shall we have a restoration, usually the most dangerous and worst of all revolutions? To some of these questions the answers may from the experience of past ages, be easy, but to many of them far otherwise; and he will read history with most profit, who the most canvasses questions of this nature, especially if he can divest his mind for the time, of the recollection of the event as it in fact succeeded.

Third Period.

The next period, as it is that which immediately precedes the commencement of this History, requires a more detailed examination; nor is there any more

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fertile of matter, whether for reflection or speculation. Between the year sixteen hundred and forty, and the death of Charles the Second, we have the opportunity of contemplating the state in almost every variety of circumstances. Religious dispute, political contest in all its forms and degrees, from the honest exertions of party, and the corrupt intrigues of faction, to violence and civil war; despotism, first in the person of an usurper, and afterwards in that of an hereditary king; the most memorable and salutary improvements in the laws, the most abandoned administration of them; in fine, whatever can happen to a nation, whether of glorious or calamitous, makes a part of this astonishing and instructive picture.

1640. The commencement of this period is marked by exertions of the people, through their representatives in the House of Commons, not only justifiable in their principle, but directed to the properest objects, and in a manner the most judicious. Many of their leaders were greatly versed in ancient as well as modern learning, and were even enthusiastically attached to the great names of antiquity; but they never conceived the wild project of assimilating the government of England to that of Athens, of Sparta, or of Rome. They were content with applying to the English constitution, and to the English laws, the spirit of liberty which had animated, and rendered illustrious, the ancient republics. Their first object was to obtain redress of past grievances with a proper regard to the individuals who had suffered; the next, to prevent the recurrence of such grievances, by the abolition of tyranical tribunals, acting upon arbitrary maxims in criminal proceedings, and most improperly denominated courts of justice. They then proceeded to establish that fundamental principle of all free government, the preserving of the purse to the people and their repre-

Redress of grievances.

sentatives. And though there may be more difference of opinion upon their proposed regulations in regard to the militia, yet surely, when a contest was to be foreseen, they could not, consistently with prudence, leave the power of the sword altogether in the hands of an adverse party.

Lord Strafford's attainder.

The prosecution of Lord Strafford, or rather the manner in which it was carried on, is less justifiable. He was doubtless a great delinquent, and well deserved the severest punishment; but nothing short of a clearly proved case of self-defence can justify, or even excuse, a departure from the sacred rules of criminal justice. For it can rarely indeed happen, that the mischief to be apprehended from suffering any criminal, however guilty, to escape, can be equal to that resulting from the violation of those rules to which the innocent owe the security of all that is dear to them. If such cases have existed, they must have been in instances where trial has been wholly out of the question, as in that of Cæsar, and other tyrants; but when a man is once in a situation to be tried, and his person in the power of his accusers and his judges, he can no longer be formidable in that degree which alone can justify, (if any thing can,) the violation of the substantial rules of criminal proceedings.

Commencement of the Civil War.

At the breaking out of the civil war, so intemperately denominated a rebellion by Lord Clarendon and other Tory writers, the material question appears to me to be, whether or not sufficient attempts were made by the Parliament and their leaders, to avoid bringing affairs to such a decision? That according to the general principles of morality, they had justice on their side, cannot fairly be doubted; but did they sufficiently attend to that great dictum of Tully,* in questions of

* Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero.

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civil dissention, wherein he declares his preference of even an unfair peace to the most just war? Did they sufficiently weigh the dangers that might ensue even from victory? dangers, in such cases, little less formidable to the cause of liberty than those which might follow a defeat? Did they consider that it is not peculiar to the followers of Pompey, and the civil wars of Rome, that the event to be looked for is, as the same Tully describes it, in case of defeat,....proscription; in that of victory,....servitude? Is the failure of the negotiation when the King was in the Isle of Wight to be imputed to the suspicions justly entertained of his sincerity? or to the ambition of the parliamentary leaders? If the insincerity of the King was the real cause, ought not the mischief to be apprehended from his insincerity, rather to have been guarded against by treaty, than alleged as a pretence for breaking off the negotiation? Sad indeed will be the condition of the world, if we are never to make peace with an adverse party whose sincerity we have reason to suspect. Even just grounds for such suspicions will but too often occur, and when such fail, the proneness of man to impute evil qualities as well as evil designs to his enemies, will suggest false ones. In the present case, the suspicion of insincerity was, it is true, so just, as to amount to a moral certainty. The example of the Petition of Right was a satisfactory proof that the King made no point of adhering to concessions which he considered as extorted from him; and if a philosophical historian, writing above a century after the time, can deem the pretended hard usage Charles met with, as a sufficient excuse for his breaking his faith in the first instance, much more must that prince himself, with all his prejudices, and notions of his divine right, have thought it justifiable to retract concessions, which to him, no doubt, appeared far more

Treaty of the Isle of Wight.

unreasonable than the Petition of Right, and which, with more colour, he might consider as extorted. These considerations were probably the cause why the Parliament so long delayed their determination of accepting the King's offer as a basis for treaty; but unfortunately, they had delayed so long, that when at last they adopted it, they found themselves without power to carry it into execution. The army having now ceased to be the servants, had become the masters of the Parliament, and being entirely influenced by Cromwell, gave a commencement to what may, properly speaking, be called a new reign. The subsequent measures, therefore, the execution of the King, as well as others, are not to be considered as acts of the Parliament, but of Cromwell; and great and respectable as are the names of some who sat in the high court, they must be regarded, in this instance, rather as ministers of that usurper, than as acting from themselves.

King's Execution.

The execution of the King, though a far less violent measure than that of Lord Strafford, is an event of so singular a nature, that we cannot wonder that it should have excited more sensation than any other in the annals of England. This exemplary act of substantial justice, as it has been called by some, of enormous wickedness by others, must be considered in two points of view. First, was it not in itself just and necessary? Secondly, was the example of it likely to be salutary or pernicious? In regard to the first of these questions, Mr. Hume, not perhaps intentionally, makes the best justification of it, by saying, that while Charles lived, the projected republic could never be secure. But to justify taking away the life of an individual, upon the principle of self-defence, the danger must be not problematical and remote, but evident and immediate. The danger in this instance was not of such a nature; and the imprisonment, or even banishment, of

CHAP. I. Charles, might have given to the republic such a degree of security as any government ought to be content with. It must be confessed however on the other side, that if the republican government had suffered the King to escape, it would have been an act of justice and generosity wholly unexampled; and to have granted him even his life, would have been one among the more rare efforts of virtue. The short interval between the deposal and death of princes is become proverbial; and though there may be some few examples on the other side, as far as life is concerned, I doubt whether a single instance can be found, where liberty has been granted to a deposed monarch. Among the modes of destroying persons in such a situation, there can be little doubt but that adopted by Cromwell and his adherents is the least dishonourable. Edward the Second, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, Edward the Fifth, had none of them long survived their deposal; but this was the first instance, in our history at least, where, of such an act, it could be truly said, that it was not done in a corner.

As to the second question, whether the advantage to be derived from the example was such as to justify an act of such violence, it appears to me to be a complete solution of it to observe, that with respect to England, (and I know not upon what ground we are to set examples for other nations, or in other words, to take the criminal justice of the world into our hands,) it was wholly needless, and therefore unjustifiable, to set one for kings, at a time when it was intended the office of King should be abolished, and consequently, that no person should be in the situation to make it the rule of his conduct. Besides, the miseries attendant upon a deposed monarch, seem to be sufficient to deter any prince, who thinks of consequences, from running the risk of being placed in such

a situation; or, if death be the only evil that can deter him, the fate of former tyrants deposed by their subjects, would by no means encourage him to hope he could avoid even that catastrophe. As far as we can judge from the event, the example was certainly not very effectual, since both the sons of Charles, though having their father's fate before their eyes, yet feared not to violate the liberties of the people even more than he had attempted to do.

If we consider the question of example in a more extended view, and look to the general effect produced upon the minds of men, it cannot be doubted but the opportunity thus given to Charles, to display his firmness and piety, has created more respect for his memory than it could otherwise have obtained. Respect and pity for the sufferer on one hand, and hatred to his enemies on the other, soon produce favour and aversion to their respective causes; and thus even though it should be admitted, (which is doubtful,) that some advantage may have been gained to the cause of liberty, by the terror of the example operating upon the minds of princes, such advantage is far outweighed by the zeal which admiration for virtue, and pity for sufferings, the best passions of the human heart, have excited in favour of the royal cause. It has been thought dangerous to the morals of mankind, even in fiction and romance, to make us sympathize with characters whose general conduct is blameable; but how much greater must the effect be, when in real history our feelings are interested in favour of a monarch with whom, to say the least, his subjects were obliged to contend in arms for their liberty? After all, however, notwithstanding what the more reasonable part of mankind may think upon this question, it is much to be doubted whether this singular proceeding has not, as much as any other cir-

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cumstance, served to raise the character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general. He who has read, and still more he who has heard in conversation, discussions upon this subject, by foreigners, must have perceived, that, even in the minds of those who condemn the act, the impression made by it has been far more that of respect and admiration, than that of disgust and horror. The truth is, that the guilt of the action, that is to say, the taking away the life of the King, is what most men in the place of Cromwell and his associates would have incurred; what there is of splendor and of magnanimity in it, I mean the publicity and solemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of displaying. It is a degrading fact to human nature, that even the sending away of the Duke of Gloucester was an instance of generosity almost unexampled in the history of transactions of this nature.

Sentiments of foreigners on the act.

From the execution of the King to the death of Cromwell, the government was, with some variation of forms, in substance monarchical and absolute, as a government established by a military force will almost invariably be, especially when the exertions of such a force are continued for any length of time. If to this general rule our own age, and a people whom their origin and near relation to us would almost warrant us to call our own nation, have afforded a splendid and perhaps a solitary exception, we must reflect not only, that a character of virtues so happily tempered by one another, and so wholly unalloyed with any vices, as that of Washington, is hardly to be found in the pages of history, but that even Washington himself might not have been able to act his most glorious of all parts, without the existence of circumstances uncommonly favourable, and almost peculiar to the country which was to be the theatre of it. Virtue like his depends

Cromwell's government.

not indeed upon time or place; but although in no country or time would he have degraded himself into a Pisistratus, or a Cæsar, or a Cromwell, he might have shared the fate of a Cato, or a De Witt; or, like Ludlow and Sidney, have mourned in exile the lost liberties of his country.

His Character.

With the life of the Protector almost immediately ended the government which he had established. The great talents of this extraordinary person had supported, during his life, a system condemned equally by reason and by prejudice; by reason, as wanting freedom; by prejudice, as an usurpation; and it must be confessed to be no mean testimony of his genius, that, notwithstanding the radical defects of such a system, the splendor of his character and exploits render the æra of the Protectorship one of the most brilliant in English history. It is true his conduct in foreign concerns, is set off to advantage, by a comparison of it with that of those who preceded, and who followed him. If he made a mistake in espousing the French interest instead of the Spanish, we should recollect, that in examining this question we must divest our minds entirely of all the considerations which the subsequent relative state of those two empires suggest to us, before we can become impartial judges in it; and at any rate, we must allow his reign, in regard to European concerns, to have been most glorious when contrasted with the pusillanimity of James the First, with the levity of Charles the First, and the mercenary meanness of the two last Princes of the House of Stuart. Upon the whole, the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those, who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of their genius; and among such, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had

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not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, Hypocrisy.

Indifference respecting forms of government.

The short interval between Cromwell's death and the Restoration, exhibits the picture of a nation either so wearied with changes as not to feel, or so subdued by military power as not to dare to show, any care or even preference with regard to the form of their government. All was in the army; and that army, by such a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances as history teaches us not to be surprised at, had fallen into the hands of one, than whom a baser could not be found in its lowest ranks. Personal courage appears to have been Monk's only virtue; reserve and dissimulation made up the whole stock of his wisdom. But to this man did the nation look up, ready to receive from his orders the form of government he should choose to prescribe. There is reason to believe, that, from the general bias of the Presbyterians, as well as of the Cavaliers, monarchy was the prevalent wish: but it is observable, that although the Parliament was, contrary to the principle upon which it was pretended to be called, composed of many avowed royalists, yet none dared to hint at the restoration of the King, till they had Monk's permission, or rather command, to receive and consider his letters. It is impossible, in reviewing the whole of this transaction, not to remark, that a general who had gained his rank, reputation, and station in the service of a republic, and of what he, as well as others, called, however falsely, the cause of liberty, made no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of a monarch, without a single provision in favour of that cause; and if the promise of indemnity may seem to argue that there was some attention, at least, paid to the safety of his associates in arms, his subsequent conduct gives reason to suppose, that even this provision was owing to any other cause, rather

Character of Monk.

than to any generous feeling of his breast. For he afterwards not only acquiesced in the insults so meanly put upon the illustrious corpse of Blake, under whose auspices and command he had performed the most creditable services of his life, but in the trial of Argyle, produced letters of friendship and confidence, to take away the life of a nobleman,* the zeal and cordiality of whose co-operation with him, proved by such documents, was the chief ground of his execution; thus gratuitously surpassing in infamy those miserable wretches who, to save their own lives, are sometimes persuaded to impeach, and swear away, the lives of their accomplices.

Restoration. 1660.

The reign of Charles the Second forms one of the most singular, as well as of the most important periods of history. It is the æra of good laws and bad government. The abolition of the Court of Wards, the repeal of the Writ De Heretico Comburendo, the triennial Parliament Bill, the establishment of the rights of the House of Commons in regard to impeachment, the expiration of the License Act, and above all, the glorious statute of Habeas Corpus, have therefore induced a modern writer of great eminence to fix the year 1679 as the period at which our constitution had arrived at its greatest theoretical perfection; but he owns, in a short note upon the passage alluded to, that the times immediately following were times of great practical oppression. What a field for meditation does this short observation, from such a man, furnish! What reflections does it not suggest to a thinking mind, upon the inefficacy of human laws, and the imperfection of human constitutions! We are called from the contemplation of the progress of our constitution, and our attention fixed with the most minute

* Burnet. Baillie's Letters, II. 431.

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accuracy to a particular point, when it is said to have risen to its utmost perfection. Here we are then at the best moment of the best constitution that ever human wisdom framed. What follows? A time of oppression and misery, not arising from external or accidental causes, such as war, pestilence, or famine, nor even from any such alteration of the laws as might be supposed to impair this boasted perfection, but from a corrupt and wicked administration, which all the so much admired checks of the constitution were not able to prevent. How vain then, how idle, how presumptuous, is the opinion, that laws can do every thing! and how weak and pernicious the maxim founded upon it, that measures, not men, are to be attended to!

Administration of Southampton and Clarendon.

The first years of this reign, under the administration of Southampton and Clarendon, form by far the least exceptionable part of it, and even in this period, the executions of Argyle and Vane, and the whole conduct of the government with respect to church matters, both in England and in Scotland, were gross instances of tyranny. With respect to the execution of those who were accused of having been more immediately concerned in the King's death, that of Scrope, who had come in upon the proclamation, and of the military officers who had attended the trial, was a violation of every principle of law and justice. But the fate of the others, though highly dishonourable to Monk, whose whole power had arisen from his zeal in their service, and the favour and confidence with which they had rewarded him, and not perhaps very creditable to the nation, of which many had applauded, more had supported, and almost all had acquiesced in the act, is not certainly to be imputed as a crime to the King, or to those of his advisers who were of the Cavalier party. The passion of revenge, though properly condemned both by philosophy and religion,

yet when it is excited by injurious treatment of persons justly dear to us, is among the most excusable of human frailties; and if Charles, in his general conduct, had shown stronger feelings of gratitude for services performed to his father, his character, in the eyes of many, would be rather raised than lowered by this example of severity against the regicides. Clarendon is said to have been privy to the King's receiving money from Lewis the Fourteenth; but what proofs exist of this charge, (for a heavy charge it is,) I know not. Southampton was one of the very few of the royalist party who preserved any just regard for the liberties of the people, and the disgust which a person possessed of such sentiments must unavoidably feel, is said to have determined him to quit the King's service, and to retire altogether from public affairs. Whether he would have acted upon this determination, his death, which happened in the year sixteen hundred and sixty-seven, prevents us now from ascertaining.

The King's mis-government.

After the fall of Clarendon, which soon followed, the King entered into that career of mis-government, which, that he was able to pursue it to its end, is a disgrace to the history of our country. If any thing can add to our disgust at the meanness with which he solicited a dependence upon Lewis the Fourteenth, it is the hypocritical pretence upon which he was continually pressing that monarch. After having passed a law, making it penal to affirm, (what was true,) that he was a Papist, he pretended, (which was certainly not true,) to be a zealous and bigoted Papist; and the uneasiness of his conscience at so long delaying a public avowal of his conversion, was more than once urged by him, as an argument to increase the pension, and to accelerate the assistance he was to receive from France.* In a later period of his reign, when his in-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 33. &c.

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terest, as he thought, lay the other way, that he might at once continue to earn his wages, and yet put off a public conversion, he stated some scruples, contracted, no doubt, by his affection to the Protestant churches, in relation to the Popish mode of giving the sacrament; and pretended a wish, that the Pope might be induced by Lewis, to consider of some alterations in that respect, to enable him to reconcile himself to the Roman church with a clear and pure conscience.*

Cabal. 1670.

The ministry, known by the name of the Cabal, seems to have consisted of characters so unprincipled, as justly to deserve the severity with which they have been treated by all writers who have mentioned them; but if it is probable, that they were ready to betray their King, as well as their country, it is certain that the King betrayed them; keeping from them the real state of his connection with France, and, from some of them, at least, the secret of what he was pleased to call his religion. Whether this concealment on his part, arose from his habitual treachery, and from the incapacity which men of that character feel, of being open and honest, even when they know it is their interest to be so; or from an apprehension that they might demand for themselves some share of the French money, which he was unwilling to give them, cannot now be determined. But to the want of genuine and reciprocal confidence between him and those ministers, is to be attributed, in a great measure, the escape which the nation at that time experienced; an escape, however, which proved to be only a reprieve from that servitude to which they were afterwards reduced in the latter years of the reign.

Dutch War.

The first Dutch war had been undertaken against all maxims of policy, as well as of justice; but the superior infamy of the second, aggravated by the disap-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 84.

pointment of all the hopes entertained by good men, from the triple alliance, and by the treacherous attempt at piracy with which it was commenced, seems to have effaced the impression of it, not only from the minds of men living at the time, but from most of the writers who have treated of this reign. The principle, however, of both was the same, and arbitrary power at home was the object of both. The second Dutch war rendered the King's system and views so apparent to all who were not determined to shut their eyes against conviction, that it is difficult to conceive how persons, who had any real care or regard, either for the liberty or honour of the country, could trust him afterwards. And yet even Sir William Temple, who appears to have been one of the most honest, as well as of the most enlightened, statesmen of his time, could not believe his treachery to be quite so deep, as it was in fact; and seems occasionally to have hoped, that he was in earnest in his professed intentions of following the wise and just system that was recommended to him. Great instances of credulity and blindness in wise men are often liable to the suspicion of being pretended, for the purpose of justifying the continuing in situations of power and employment longer than strict honour would allow. But to Temple's sincerity his subsequent conduct gives abundant testimony. When he had reason to think that his services could no longer be useful to his country, he withdrew wholly from public business, and resolutely adhered to the preference of philosophical retirement, which, in his circumstances, was just, in spite of every temptation which occurred to bring him back to the more active scene. The remainder of his life he seems to have employed in the most noble contemplations, and the most elegant amusements; every enjoyment heightened, no doubt, by reflecting on the honourable part he

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De Witt. Besides the important consequences produced by this second Dutch war in England, it gave birth to two great events in Holland; the one as favorable, as the other was disastrous, to the cause of general liberty. The catastrophe of De Witt, the wisest, best, and most truly patriotic minister that ever appeared upon the public stage, as it was an act of the most crying injustice and ingratitude, so likewise is it the most completely disencouraging example, that history affords to the lovers of liberty. If Aristides was banished, he was also recalled: if Dion was repaid for his services to the Syracusans by ingratitude, that ingratitude was more than once repented of: if Sidney and Russel died upon the scaffold, they had not the cruel mortification of falling by the hands of the people: ample justice was done to their memory, and the very sound of their names is still animating to every Englishman attached to their glorious cause. But with De Witt fell also his cause and his party; and although a name so respected by all who revere virtue and wisdom, when employed in their noblest sphere, the political service of the public, must undoubtedly be doubly dear to his countrymen, yet I do not know that, even to this day, any public honours have been paid by them to his memory.

Prince of Orange. On the other hand, the circumstances attending the first appearance of the Prince of Orange in public affairs, were in every respect most fortunate for himself, for England, for Europe. Of an age to receive the strongest impressions, and of a character to render such impressions durable, he entered the world in a moment when the calamitous situation of the United Provinces, could not but excite, in every Dutchman,

the strongest detestation of the insolent ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth, and the greatest contempt of an English government, which could so far mistake, or betray, the interests of the country, as to lend itself to his projects. Accordingly, the circumstances attending his outset seem to have given a lasting bias to his character; and through the whole course of his life, the prevailing sentiments of his mind seem to have been those which he imbibed at this early period. These sentiments were most peculiarly adapted to the positions in which this great man was destined to be placed. The light in which he viewed Lewis rendered him the fittest champion of the independence of Europe; and in England, French influence and arbitrary power were in those times so intimately connected, that he who had not only seen with disapprobation, but had so sensibly felt, the baneful effects of Charles's connection with France, seemed educated, as it were, to be the defender of English liberty. This prince's struggles in defence of his country, his success in rescuing it from a situation to all appearance so desperate, and the consequent failure and mortification of Lewis the Fourteenth, form a scene in history upon which the mind dwells with unceasing delight. One never can read Lewis's famous Declaration against the Hollanders, knowing the event which is to follow, without feeling the heart dilate with exultation, and a kind of triumphant contempt, which, though not quite consonant to the principles of pure philosophy, never fails to give the mind inexpressible satisfaction. Did the relation of such events form the sole, or even any considerable part of the historian's task, pleasant indeed would be his labours; but, though far less agreeable, it is not a less useful or necessary part of his business, to relate the triumphs of successful wickedness, and the oppression of truth, justice and liberty.

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The conduct and designs of Charles. 1674. 1678.

The interval from the separate peace between England and the United Provinces, to the peace of Nimeguen, was chiefly employed by Charles in attempts to obtain money from France and other foreign powers, in which he was sometimes more, sometimes less successful; and in various false professions, promises, and other devices to deceive his parliament and his people, in which he uniformly failed. Though neither the nature and extent of his connection with France, nor his design of introducing Popery into England, were known at that time, as they now are, yet there were not wanting many indications of the King's disposition, and of the general tendency of his designs. Reasonable persons apprehended that the supplies asked were intended to be used, not for the specious purpose of maintaining the balance of Europe, but for that of subduing the parliament and people who should give them; and the great antipathy of the bulk of the nation to Popery caused many to be both more clear-sighted in discovering, and more resolute in resisting, the designs of the court, than they would probably have shown themselves, if civil liberty alone had been concerned.

Disposition of the Nation.

Popish Plot. 1678.

When the minds of men were in the disposition which such a state of things was naturally calculated to produce, it is not to be wondered at, that a ready, and perhaps a too facile, belief should have been accorded to the rumour of a Popish plot. But with the largest possible allowance for the just apprehensions which were entertained, and the consequent irritation of the country, it is wholly inconceivable how such a plot as that brought forward by Tongue and Oates could obtain any general belief. Nor can any stretch of candor make us admit it to be probable, that all who pretended a belief of it did seriously entertain it. On the other hand, it seems an absurdity, equal almost

in degree to the belief of the plot itself, to suppose that it was a story fabricated by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the other leaders of the Whig party; and it would be highly unjust, as well as uncharitable, not to admit, that the generality of those who were engaged in the prosecution of it were probably sincere in their belief of it, since it is unquestionable that at the time very many persons, whose political prejudices were of a quite different complexion, were under the same delusion. The unanimous votes of the two Houses of Parliament, and the names, as well as the number, of those who pronounced Lord Stafford to be guilty, seem to put this beyond a doubt. Dryden, writing soon after the time, says, in his Absalom and Achitophel, that the plot was

The belief of the plot Universal.

"Bad in itself, but represented worse."

that

"Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies:"

and that

"Succeeding times did equal folly call
"Believing nothing, or believing all,"

and Dryden will not, by those who are conversant in the history and works of that immortal writer, be suspected either of party prejudice in favour of Shaftesbury and the Whigs, or of any view to prejudice the country against the Duke of York's succession to the crown. The king repeatedly declared his belief of it. These declarations, if sincere, would have some weight; but if insincere, as may be reasonably suspected, they afford a still stronger testimony to prove that such belief was not exclusively a party opinion, since it cannot be supposed, that even the crooked politics of Charles could have led him to countenance fictions of his enemies, which were not adopted by his

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own party. Wherefore, if this question were to be decided upon the ground of authority, the reality of the plot would be admitted; and it must be confessed, that, with regard to facts remote, in respect either of time or place, wise men generally diffide in their own judgment, and defer to that of those who have had a nearer view of them. But there are cases where reason speaks so plainly as to make all argument drawn from authority of no avail, and this is surely one of them. Not to mention correspondence by post on the subject of regicide, detailed commissions from the Pope, silver bullets, &c. &c. and other circumstances equally ridiculous, we need only advert to the part attributed to the Spanish government in this conspiracy, and to the alleged intention of murdering the King, to satisfy ourselves that it was a forgery.

Its absurdity

Rapin, who argues the whole of this affair with a degree of weakness as well as disingenuity very unusual to him, seems at last to offer us a kind of compromise, and to be satisfied if we will admit that there was a design or project to introduce Popery and arbitrary power, at the head of which were the King and his brother. Of this I am as much convinced as he can be; but how does this justify the prosecution and execution of those who suffered, since few, if any of them, were in a situation to be trusted by the royal conspirators with their designs? When he says, therefore, that, that is precisely what was understood by the conspiracy, he by no means justifies those who were the principal prosecutors of the plot. The design to murder the King, he calls the appendage of the plot: a strange expression this, to describe the projected murder of a king! though not more strange than the notion itself when applied to a plot, the object of which was to render that very king absolute, and to introduce the religion which he most favoured.

Disingenuous justification of it.

But it is to be observed, that though in considering the Bill of Exclusion, the Militia Bill, and other legislative proceedings, the plot, as he defines it, that is to say, the design of introducing Popery and arbitrary power, was the important point to be looked to; yet in courts of justice, and for juries and judges, that which he calls the appendage was, generally speaking, the sole consideration.

The proceedings on it disgraceful to the nation.

Although therefore, upon a review of this truly shocking transaction, we may be fairly justified in adopting the milder alternative, and in imputing to the greater part of those concerned in it, rather an extraordinary degree of blind credulity, than the deliberate wickedness of planning and assisting in the perpetration of legal murder; yet the proceedings on the Popish plot must always be considered as an indelible disgrace upon the English nation, in which King, Parliament, judges, juries, witnesses, prosecutors, have all their respective, though certainly not equal, shares. Witnesses, of such a character as not to deserve credit in the most trifling cause, upon the most immaterial facts, gave evidence so incredible, or, to speak more properly, so impossible to be true, that it ought not to have been believed if it had come from the mouth of Cato; and upon such evidence, from such witnesses, were innocent men condemned to death and executed. Prosecutors, whether attornies and solicitors-general, or managers of impeachment, acted with the fury which in such circumstances might be expected; juries partook naturally enough of the national ferment; and judges, whose duty it was to guard them against such impressions, were scandalously active in confirming them in their prejudices, and inflaming their passions. The King, who is supposed to have disbelieved the whole of the plot, never once exercised his glorious prerogative of mercy. It is said he dared not. His

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throne, perhaps his life, was at stake; and history does not furnish us with the example of any monarch with whom the lives of innocent, or even meritorious, subjects ever appeared to be of much weight, when put in balance against such considerations.

Habeas Corpus Act. 1675.

The measures of the prevailing party in the House of Commons, in these times, appear, (with the exception of their dreadful proceedings in the business of the pretended plot, and of their violence towards those who petitioned and addressed against Parliament,) to have been, in general, highly laudable and meritorious; and yet I am afraid it may be justly suspected, that it was precisely to that part of their conduct which related to the plot, and which is most reprehensible, that they were indebted for their power to make the noble, and in some instances successful, struggles for liberty, which do so much honour to their memory. The danger to be apprehended from military force, being always, in the view of wise men, the most urgent, they first voted the disbanding of the army, and the two Houses passed a bill for that purpose, to which the King found himself obliged to consent. But to the bill which followed, for establishing the regular assembling of the militia, and for providing for their being in arms six weeks in the year, he opposed his royal negative; thus making his stand upon the same point on which his father had done; a circumstance which, if events had taken a turn against him, would not have failed of being much noticed by historians. Civil securities for freedom came to be afterwards considered; and it is to be remarked, that to these times of heat and passion, and to one of those parliaments, which so disgraced themselves and the nation, by the countenance given to Oates and Bedloe, and by the persecution of so many innocent victims, we are indebted for the Habeas Corpus Act, the most

important barrier against tyranny, and best framed protection for the liberty of individuals, that has ever existed in any ancient or modern commonwealth.

Exclusion Bill. 1679.

But the inefficacy of mere laws in favour of the subjects, in the case of the administration of them falling into the hands of persons hostile to the spirit in which they had been provided, had been so fatally evinced by the general history of England, ever since the grant of the Great Charter, and more especially by the transactions of the preceding reign, that the Parliament justly deemed their work incomplete, unless the Duke of York were excluded from the succession to the crown. A bill, therefore, for the purpose of excluding that prince, was prepared, and passed the House of Commons; but being vigorously resisted by the court, by the church, and by the Tories, was lost in the House of Lords. The restrictions offered by the King to be put upon a Popish successor are supposed to have been among the most powerful of those means to which he was indebted for his success.

Observations upon it.

The dispute was no longer, whether or not the dangers resulting from James's succession were real, and such as ought to be guarded against by parliamentary provisions; but whether the exclusion, or restrictions, furnished the most safe, and eligible mode of compassing the object which both sides pretended to have in view. The argument upon this state of the question is clearly, forcibly, and, I think, convincingly, stated by Rapin, who exposes very ably the extreme folly of trusting to measures, without consideration of the men who are to execute them. Even in Hume's statement of the question, whatever may have been his intention, the arguments in favour of the exclusion appear to me greatly to preponderate. Indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what principles even the Tories could justify their support of the restrictions.

CHAP. I. Many among them, no doubt, saw the provisions in the same light in which the Whigs represented them, as an expedient admirably indeed adapted to the real object of upholding the present King's power, by the defeat of the exclusion, but never likely to take effect for their pretended purpose of controuling that of his successor; and supported them for that very reason. But such a principle of conduct was too fraudulent to be avowed; nor ought it perhaps, in candour, to be imputed to the majority of the party. To those who acted with good faith, and meant that the restrictions should really take place, and be effectual, surely it ought to have occurred, (and to those who most prized the prerogatives of the crown, it ought most forcibly to have occurred,) that in consenting to curtail the powers of the crown, rather than to alter the succession, they were adopting the greater, in order to avoid the lesser evil. The question of, what are to be the powers of the crown, is surely of superior importance to that of, who shall wear it? Those, at least, who consider the royal prerogative as vested in the King, not for his sake, but for that of his subjects, must consider the one of these questions as much above the other in dignity, as the rights of the public are more valuable than those of an individual. In this view the prerogatives of the crown are in substance and effect the rights of the people; and these rights of the people were not to be sacrificed to the purpose of preserving the succession to the most favoured prince, much less to one who, on account of his religious persuasion, was justly feared and suspected. In truth, the question between the exclusion and restrictions seems peculiarly calculated to ascertain the different views in which the different parties in this country have seen, and perhaps ever will see, the prerogatives of the crown. The Whigs, who consider them as a

trust for the people, a doctrine which the Tories themselves, when pushed in argument, will sometimes admit, naturally think it their duty rather to change the manager of the trust, than to impair the subject of it; while others, who consider them as the right or property of the King, will as naturally act as they would do in the case of any other property, and consent to the loss or annihilation of any part of it, for the purpose of preserving the remainder to him, whom they style the rightful owner. If the people be the sovereign, and the King the delegate, it is better to change the bailiff than to injure the farm; but if the King be the proprietor, it is better the farm should be impaired, nay, part of it destroyed, than that the whole should pass over to an usurper. The royal prerogative ought, according to the Whigs, (not in the case of a Popish successor only, but in all cases,) to be reduced to such powers as are in their exercise beneficial to the people; and of the benefit of these they will not rashly suffer the people to be deprived, whether the executive power be in the hands of an hereditary, or of an elected King; of a regent, or of any other denomination of magistrate; while on the other hand, they who consider prerogative with reference only to royalty, will, with equal readiness, consent either to the extension or the suspension of its exercise, as the occasional interests of the prince may seem to require. The senseless plea of a divine and indefeasable right in James, which even the legislature was incompetent to set aside, though as inconsistent with the declarations of Parliament in the Statute Book, and with the whole practice of the English Constitution, as it is repugnant to nature and common sense, was yet warmly insisted upon by the high-church party. Such an argument, as might naturally be expected, operated rather to provoke the Whigs to perseverance, than to dissuade

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them from their measure: it was, in their eyes, an additional merit belonging to the Exclusion Bill, that it strengthened, by one instance more, the authority of former statutes, in reprobating a doctrine which seems to imply, that man can have a property in his fellow creatures. By far the best argument in favour of the restrictions, is the practical one, that they could be obtained, and that the exclusion could not; but the value of this argument is chiefly proved by the event. The Exclusionists had a fair prospect of success, and their plan being clearly the best, they were justified in pursuing it.

The spirit of resistance which the King showed in the instance of the Militia and the Exclusion Bills, seems to have been systematically confined to those cases where he supposed his power to be more immediately concerned. In the prosecution of the aged and innocent Lord Stafford, he was so far from interfering in behalf of that nobleman, that many of those most in his confidence, and, as it is affirmed, the Dutchess of Portsmouth herself, openly favoured the prosecution. Even after the dissolution of his last Parliament, when he had so far subdued his enemies as to be no longer under any apprehensions from them, he did not think it worth while to save the life of Plunket, the Popish Archbishop of Armagh, of whose innocence no doubt could be entertained. But this is not to be wondered at, since, in all transactions relative to the Popish plot, minds of a very different cast from Charles's became, as by some fatality, divested of all their wonted sentiments of justice and humanity. Who can read without horror, the account of that savage murmur of applause, which broke out upon one of the villains at the bar, swearing positively to Stafford's having proposed the murder of the King? And how is this horror deepened, when we reflect,

Prosecution of Stafford.

that in that odious cry were probably mingled the voices of men to whose memory every lover of the English constitution is bound to pay the tribute of gratitude and respect! Even after condemnation, Lord Russel himself, whose character is wholly (this instance excepted) free from the stain of rancour or cruelty, stickled for the severer mode of executing the sentence, in a manner which his fear of the King's establishing a precedent of pardoning in cases of impeachment, (for this, no doubt, was his motive,) cannot satisfactorily excuse.

Temple's advice.

In an early period of the King's difficulties, Sir William Temple, whose life and character is a refutation of the vulgar notion that philosophy and practical good sense in business are incompatible attainments, recommended to him the plan of governing by a council, which was to consist in great part of the most popular noblemen and gentlemen in the kingdom. Such persons being the natural, as well as the safest, mediators between princes and discontented subjects, this seems to have been the best possible expedient. Hume says it was found too feeble a remedy; but he does not take notice that it was never in fact tried, inasmuch as, not only the King's confidence was withheld from the most considerable members of the council, but even the most important determinations were taken without consulting the council itself. Nor can there be a doubt but the King's views, in adopting Temple's advice, were totally different from those of the adviser, whose only error in this transaction seems to have consisted in recommending a plan, wherein confidence and fair dealing were of necessity to be principal ingredients, to a prince whom he well knew to be incapable of either. Accordingly, having appointed the council in April, with a promise of being governed in important matters by their advice, he

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in July dissolved one Parliament without their concurrence, and in October, forbade them even to give their opinions upon the propriety of a resolution which he had taken of proroguing another. From that time he probably considered the council to be, as it was, virtually dissolved; and it was not long before means presented themselves to him, better adapted, in his estimation, even to his immediate objects, and certainly more suitable to his general designs. The union between the court and the church party, which had been so closely cemented by their successful resistance to the Exclusion Bill, and its authors, had at length acquired such a degree of strength and consistency, that the King ventured first to appoint Oxford, instead of London, for the meeting of Parliament; and then, having secured to himself a good pension from France, to dissolve the Parliament there met, with a full resolution never to call another: to which resolution, indeed, Lewis had bound him, as one of the conditions on which he was to receive his stipend.* No measure was ever attended with more complete success. The most flattering addresses poured in from all parts of the kingdom; divine right, and indiscriminate obedience, were every where the favourite doctrines; and men seemed to vie with each other who should have the honor of the greatest share in the glorious work of slavery, by securing to the King, for the present, and, after him to the Duke, absolute and uncontroulable power. They, who, either because Charles had been called a forgiving prince by his flatterers, (upon what ground I could never discover,) or from some supposed connection between indolence and good nature, had deceived themselves into a hope, that his tyranny

Dissolution of Charles the Second's last Parliament.

* Dalrymple's memoirs.

would be of the milder sort, found themselves much disappointed in their expectations. CHAP. I.

His power and tyranny.

The whole history of the remaining part of his reign exhibits an uninterrupted series of attacks upon the liberty, property, and lives of his subjects. The character of the government appeared first, and with the most marked and prominent features, in Scotland. The condemnation of Argyle and Weir, the one for having subjoined an explanation when he took the test oath, the other for having kept company with a rebel, whom it was not proved that he knew to be such, and who had never been proclaimed, resemble more the act of Tiberius and Domitian, than those of even the most arbitrary modern governments. It is true, the sentences were not executed; Weir was reprieved; and whether or not Argyle, if he had not deemed it more prudent to escape by flight, would have experienced the same clemency, cannot now be ascertained. The terror of these examples would have been, in the judgment of most men, abundantly sufficient to teach the people of Scotland their duty, and to satisfy them that their lives, as well as every thing else they had been used to call their own, were now completely in the power of their masters. But the government did not stop here, and having outlawed thousands, upon the same pretence upon which Weir had been condemned, inflicted capital punishment upon such criminals of both sexes as refused to answer, or answered otherwise than was prescribed to them, to the most ensnaring questions.

In Scotland.

In England.

In England, the City of London seemed to hold out for a certain time, like a strong fortress in a conquered country; and, by means of this citadel, Shaftesbury and others were saved from the vengeance of the court. But this resistance, however honourable to the corporation who made it, could not be of long dura-

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tion. The weapons of law and justice were found feeble, when opposed to the power of a monarch, who was at the head of a numerous and bigotted party of the nation, and who, which was most material of all, had enabled himself to govern without a Parliament. Civil resistance in this country, even to the most illegal attacks of royal tyranny, has never, I believe, been successful, unless when supported by Parliament, or at least by a great party in one or the other of the two Houses. The Court, having wrested from the Livery of London, partly by corruption, and partly by violence, the free election of their mayor and sheriffs, did not wait the accomplishment of their plan for the destruction of the whole corporation, which, from their first success, they justly deemed certain; but immediately proceeded to put in execution their system of oppression. Pilkington, Colt, and Oates were fined a hundred thousand pounds each for having spoken disrespectfully of the Duke of York; Barnardiston ten thousand, for having in a private letter expressed sentiments deemed improper; and Sidney, Russel, and Armstrong, found that the just and mild principles which characterise the criminal law of England could no longer protect their lives, when the sacrifice was called for by the policy or vengeance of the King. To give an account of all the oppression of this period, would be to enumerate every arrest, every trial, every sentence, that took place in questions between the crown and the subjects.

Exorbitant fines.

Of the Rye-house plot it may be said, much more truly than of the Popish, that there was in it some truth, mixed with much falsehood; and though many of the circumstances in Kealing's account are nearly as absurd and ridiculous as those in Oates's, it seems probable that there was among some of those accused, a notion of assassinating the King; but whether this

Rye-house plot 1683.

notion was ever ripened into what may be called a design, and, much more, whether it were ever evinced by such an overt act, as the law requires for conviction, is very doubtful. In regard to the conspirators of higher ranks, from whom all suspicion of participation in the intended assassination has been long since done away, there is unquestionably reason to believe that they had often met and consulted, as well for the purpose of ascertaining the means they actually possessed, as for that of devising others, for delivering their country from the dreadful servitude into which it had fallen; and thus far their conduct appears clearly to have been laudable. If they went further, and did any thing which could be fairly construed into an actual conspiracy, to levy war against the King, they acted, considering the disposition of the nation at that period, very indiscreetly. But whether their proceedings had ever gone this length, is far from certain. Monmouth's communications with the King, when we reflect upon all the circumstances of those communications, deserve not the smallest attention; nor indeed, if they did, does the letter which he afterwards withdrew, prove any thing upon this point. And it is an outrage to common sense to call Lord Grey's narrative, written, as he himself states in his letter to James the Second, while the question of his pardon was pending, an authentic account. That which is most certain in this affair is, that they had committed no overt act, indicating the imagining of the King's death, even according to the most strained construction of the statute of Edward the Third; much less was any such act legally proved against them. And the conspiring to levy war was not treason, except by a recent statute of Charles the Second, the prosecutions upon which were expressly limited to a certain time, which in these cases had elapsed; so that it is impos-

Execution of Russel.

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sible not to assent to the opinion of those who have ever stigmatized the condemnation and execution of Russel as a most flagrant violation of law and justice.

Trial and Execution of Sidney.

The proceedings in Sidney's case were still more detestable. The production of papers, containing speculative opinions upon government and liberty, written long before, and perhaps never even intended to be published, together with the use made of those papers, in considering them as a substitute for the second witness to the overt act, exhibited such a compound of wickedness and nonsense as is hardly to be paralleled in the history of juridical tyranny. But the validity of pretences was little attended to, at that time, in the case of a person whom the court had devoted to destruction and upon evidence such as has been stated, was this great and excellent man condemned to die. Pardon was not to be expected. Mr. Hume says, that such an interference on the part of the King, though it might have been an act of heroic generosity, could not be regarded as an indispensable duty. He might have said, with more propriety, that it was idle to expect that the government, after having incurred so much guilt in order to obtain the sentence, should, by remitting it, relinquish the object, just when it was within its grasp. The same historian considers the jury as highly blameable, and so do I; but what was their guilt, in comparison of that of the court who tried, and of the government who prosecuted, in this infamous cause? Yet the jury, being the only party that can with any colour be stated as acting independently of the government, is the only one mentioned by him as blameable. The prosecutor is wholly omitted in his censure, and so is the court; this last, not from any tenderness for the judge, (who, to do this author justice, is no favourite with him,) but lest the odious connection between

that branch of the judicature and the government should strike the reader too forcibly: for Jefferies, in this instance, ought to be regarded as the mere tool and instrument, (a fit one, no doubt,) of the prince who had appointed him for the purpose of this and similar services. Lastly, the King is gravely introduced on the question of pardon, as if he had had no prior concern in the cause, and were now to decide upon the propriety of extending mercy to a criminal condemned by a court of judicature; nor are we once reminded what that judicature was, by whom appointed, by whom influenced, by whom called upon, to receive that detestable evidence, the very recollection of which, even at this distance of time, fires every honest heart with indignation. As well might we palliate the murders of Tiberius, who seldom put to death his victims without a previous decree of his senate. The moral of all this seems to be, that whenever a prince can, by intimidation, corruption, illegal evidence, or other such means, obtain a verdict against a subject whom he dislikes, he may cause him to be executed without any breach of indispensable duty; nay, that it is an act of heroic generosity, if he spares him. I never reflect on Mr. Hume's statement of this matter but with the deepest regret. Widely as I differ from him upon many other occasions, this appears to me to be the most reprehensible passage of his whole work. A spirit of adulation towards deceased princes, though in a good measure free from the imputation of interested meanness, which is justly attached to flattery, when applied to living monarchs; yet, as it is less intelligible, with respect to its motives, than the other, so is it in its consequences, still more pernicious to the general interests of mankind. Fear of censure from contemporaries will seldom have much effect upon men in situations of unlimited au-

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thority; they will too often flatter themselves, that the same power which enables them to commit the crime, will secure them from reproach. The dread of posthumous infamy, therefore, being the only restraint, their consciences excepted, upon the passions of such persons, it is lamentable that this last defence, (feeble enough at best,) should in any degree be impaired; and impaired it must be, if not totally destroyed, when tyrants can hope to find in a man like Hume, no less eminent for the integrity and benevolence of his heart, than for the depth and soundness of his understanding, an apologist for even their foulest murders.

Thus fell Russel and Sidney, two names that will, it is hoped, be for-ever dear to every English heart. When their memory shall cease to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell that English liberty will be fast approaching to its final consummation. Their deportment was such as might be expected from men who knew themselves to be suffering, not for their crimes, but for their virtues. In courage they were equal, but the fortitude of Russel, who was connected with the world by private and domestic ties, which Sidney had not, was put to the severer trial; and the story of the last days of this excellent man's life, fills the mind with such a mixture of tenderness and admiration, that I know not any scene in history that more powerfully excites our sympathy, or goes more directly to the heart.

Oxford Decree.

The very day on which Russel was executed, the University of Oxford passed their famous Decree, condemning formally, as impious and heretical propositions, every principle upon which the constitution of this or any other free country can maintain itself. Nor was this learned body satisfied with stigmatizing

such principles as contrary to the Holy Scriptures, to the decrees of Councils, to the writings of the Fathers, to the faith and profession of the primitive church, as destructive of the kingly government, the safety of his Majesty's person, the public peace, the laws of nature, and bounds of human society; but after enumerating the several obnoxious propositions, among which was one declaring all civil authority derived from the people; another, asserting a mutual contract, tacit or express, between the King and his subjects; a third, maintaining the lawfulness of changing the succession to the crown; with many others of the like nature, they solemnly decreed all and every of those propositions to be not only false and seditious, but impious, and that the books which contained them were fitted to lead to rebellion, murder of princes, and atheism itself. Such are the absurdities which men are not ashamed to utter in order to cast odious imputations upon their adversaries; and such the manner in which churchmen will abuse, when it suits their policy, the holy name of that religion whose first precept is to love one another, for the purpose of teaching us to hate our neighbours with more than ordinary rancour. If Much ado about Nothing had been published in those days, the town-clerk's declaration, that receiving a thousand ducats for accusing the Lady Hero wrongfully, was flat burglary, might be supposed to be a satire upon this decree; yet Shakespeare, well as he knew human nature, not only as to its general course, but in all its eccentric deviations, could never dream, that, in the persons of Dogberry, Verges, and their followers, he was representing the vice-chancellors and doctors of our learned University.

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Mr. Locke's expulsion from Oxford.

Among the oppressions of this period, most of which were attended with consequences so much more

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the College on the first of January ensuing. If he do not appear, he shall be expelled for contumacy; if he come, matter of charge may be found against him, for what he shall have said at London, or elsewhere, where he will have been less upon his guard than at Oxford. Some have ascribed Fell's hesitation, if it can be so called, in executing the King's order, to his unwillingness to injure Locke, who was his friend; others, with more reason, to the doubt of the legality of the order. However this may have been, neither his scruple nor his reluctance was regarded by a court who knew its own power. A peremptory order was accordingly sent, and immediate obedience ensued.* Thus, while, without the shadow of a crime, Mr. Locke lost a situation attended with some emolument, and great convenience, was the University deprived of, or rather thus, from the base principles of servility, did she cast away, the man the having produced whom is now her chiefest glory; and thus, to those who are not determined to be blind, did the true nature of absolute power discover itself, against which the middling station is not more secure than the most exalted. Tyranny, when glutted with the blood of the great, and the plunder of the rich, will condescend to hunt humbler game, and make a peaceable and innocent fellow of a college the object of its persecution. In this instance one would almost imagine there was some instinctive sagacity in the government of that time, which pointed out to them, even before he had made himself known to the world, the man who was destined to be the most successful adversary of superstition and tyranny.

* Vide Sunderland's correspondence with the Bishop of Oxford, in the Appendix.

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Forfeiture of Charters.

The King, during the remainder of his reign, seems, with the exception of Armstrong's execution, which must be added to the catalogue of his murders, to have directed his attacks more against the civil rights, properties, and liberties, than against the lives of his subjects. Convictions against evidence, sentences against law, enormous fines, cruel imprisonments, were the principal engines * employed for the purpose of breaking the spirit of individuals, and fitting their necks for the yoke. But it was not thought fit to trust wholly to the effect which such examples would produce upon the public. That the subjugation of the people might be complete, and despotism be established upon the most solid foundation, measures of a more general nature and effect were adopted; and first, the charter of London, and then those of almost all the other corporations in England, were either forfeited, or forced to surrender. By this act of violence two important points were thought to be gained; one, that in every regular assemblage of the people, in any part of the kingdom, the crown would have a commanding influence; the other, that in case the King should find himself compelled to break his engagement to France, and to call a parliament, a great majority of members would be returned by electors of his nomination, and subject to his controul. In the affair of the charter of London, it was seen, as in the case of ship-money, how idle it is to look to the integrity of judges for a barrier against royal encroachments, when the courts of justice are not under the constant and vigilant controul of Parliament. And it is not to be wondered at that, after such a warning, and with no hope of seeing a Parliament assemble,

* The expedient of transporting men among common felons for political offences was not then invented, which is the more extraordinary, as it had begun in this reign to be in some degree made use of in religious persecutions.

even they who still retained their attachment to the true constitution of their country, should rather give way to the torrent, than make a fruitless and dangerous resistance. CHAP. I.

Charles being thus completely master, was determined that the relative situation of him and his subjects should be clearly understood, for which purpose he ordered a declaration to be framed, wherein, after having stated that he considered the degree of confidence they had reposed in him as an honour particular to his reign, which not one of his predecessors had ever dared even to hope for, he assured them he would use it with all possible moderation, and convince even the most violent republicans, that as the crown was the origin of the rights and liberties of the people, so was it their most certain and secure support. This gracious declaration was ready for the press at the time of the King's death, and if he had lived to issue it, there can be little doubt how it would have been received, at a time when Despotism established.

nunquam Libertas gratior extat
Quam sub Rege pio,

was the theme of every song, and by the help of some perversion of Scripture, the text of every sermon. But whatever might be the language of flatterers, and how loud soever the cry of a triumphant, but deluded party, there were not wanting men of nobler sentiments, and of more rational views. Minds once thoroughly imbued with the love of what Sidney, in his last moments, so emphatically called the good old cause, will not easily relinquish their principles; nor was the manner in which absolute power was exercised, such as to reconcile to it, in practice, those who had always been averse to it in speculation. The hatred of tyranny must, in such persons, have been Despondency of good men.

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exasperated by the experience of its effects, and their attachment to liberty proportionably confirmed. To them the state of their country must have been intolerable: to reflect upon the efforts of their fathers, once their pride and glory, and whom they themselves had followed with no unequal steps, and to see the result of all in the scenes that now presented themselves, must have filled their minds with sensations of the deepest regret, and feelings bordering at least on despondency. To us, who have the opportunity of combining, in our view of this period, not only the preceding but subsequent transactions, the consideration of it may suggest reflections far different, and speculations more consolatory. Indeed I know not that history can furnish a more forcible lesson against despondency, than by recording, that within a short time from those dismal days in which men of the greatest constancy despaired and had reason to do so, within five years from the death of Sidney, arose the brightest æra of freedom known to the annals of our country.

Intended change of measures.

It is said that the King, when at the summit of his power, was far from happy; and a notion has been generally entertained, that not long before his death he had resolved upon the recall of Monmouth, and a correspondent change of system. That some such change was apprehended seems extremely probable, from the earnest desire which the court of France, as well as the Duke of York's party in England, entertained, in the last years of Charles's life, to remove the Marquis of Halifax, who was supposed to have friendly dispositions to Monmouth. Among the various objections to that nobleman's political principles, we find the charge most relied upon, for the purpose of injuring him in the mind of the King, was founded on the opinion he had delivered in council, in

favour of modelling the charters of the British Colonies in North America upon the principles of the rights and privileges of Englishmen. There was no room to doubt, (he was accused of saying,) that the same laws under which we live in England, should be established in a country composed of Englishmen. He even dilated upon this, and omitted none of the reasons by which it can be proved, that an absolute government is neither so happy nor so safe as that which is tempered by laws, and which limits the authority of the prince. He exaggerated, it was said, the mischiefs of a sovereign power, and declared plainly, that he could not make up his mind to live under a king, who should have it in his power to take, when he pleased, the money he might have in his pocket. All the other ministers had combated, as might be expected, sentiments so extraordinary; and without entering into the general question of the comparative value of different forms of government, maintained that his Majesty could, and ought to govern countries so distant, in the manner that should appear to him most suitable for preserving or augmenting the strength and riches of the mother country. It had been therefore resolved, that the government and council of the Provinces under the new charter, should not be obliged to call assemblies of the colonists for the purpose of imposing taxes, or making other important regulations, but should do what they thought fit, without rendering any account of their actions, except to his Britannic Majesty. The affair having been so decided with a concurrence only short of unanimity, was no longer considered as a matter of importance, nor would it be worth recording, if the Duke of York and the French court had not fastened upon it,* as affording the best evidence of

* Vide Barillon's Dispatches, 7th Dec. 1684.

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the danger to be apprehended from having a man of Halifax's principles in any situation of trust or power. There is something curious in discovering, that, even at this early period, a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly, or adverse, to arbitrary power at home. But the truth is, that among the several controversies which have arisen, there is no other wherein the natural rights of man on the one hand, and the authority of artificial institution on the other, as applied respectively, by the Whigs and Tories, to the English constitution, are so fairly put in issue, nor by which the line of separation between the two parties is so strongly and distinctly marked.

Charles's death. 1685. Feb. 6.

There is some reason for believing that the court of Versailles had either wholly discontinued, or at least had become very remiss in, the payments of Charles's pension; and it is not unlikely that this consideration may have induced him either really to think of calling a parliament, or at least to threaten Lewis with such a measure, in order to make that prince more punctual in performing his part of their secret treaty. But whether or not any secret change was really intended, or if it were, to what extent, and to what objects directed, are points which cannot now be ascertained, no public steps having ever been taken in this affair, and his Majesty's intentions, if in truth he had any such, becoming abortive by the sudden illness which seized him on the first of February, 1685, and which, in a few days afterwards, put an end to his reign and life. His death was by many supposed to have been the effect of poison; but although there is reason to believe that this suspicion was harboured by persons very near to him, and among others, as I have heard, by the Dutchess of

Portsmouth, it appears, upon the whole, to rest upon very slender foundations.* CHAP. I.

His character.

With respect to the character of this Prince, upon the delineation of which so much pains have been employed, by the various writers who treat of the history of his time, it must be confessed that the facts which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, furnish but too many illustrations of the more unfavourable parts of it. From these we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous, to which may be added vindictive, and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness seems to be perfectly justifiable, nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one whom motives, either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy. To allege that of Monmouth, as it would be an affront to human nature, so would it likewise imply the most severe of all satires against the monarch himself, and we may add too an undeserved one. For in order to consider it as an act of meritorious forbearance on his part, that he

* Mr. Fox had this report from the family of his mother, great-grandaughter to the Dutches of Portsmouth....The Dutches of Portsmouth lived to a very advanced age, and retained her faculties to the period of her death, which happened in 1734, at Aubigny....Mr. Fox's mother, when very young, saw her at that place; and many of the Lenox family, with whom Mr. Fox was subsequently acquainted, had, no doubt, frequently conversed with her.

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did not follow the example of Constantine, and Philip the Second, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his son, we must first suppose him to have been wholly void of every natural affection, which does not appear to have been the case. His declaration, that he would have pardoned Essex, being made when that nobleman was dead, and not followed by any act evincing its sincerity, can surely obtain no credit from men of sense. If he had really had the intention, he ought not to have made such a declaration, unless he accompanied it with some mark of kindness to the relations, or with some act of mercy to the friends, of the deceased. Considering it as a mere piece of hypocrisy, we cannot help looking upon it as one of the most odious passages of his life. This ill-timed boast of his intended mercy, and the brutal taunt with which he accompanied his mitigation, (if so it may be called,) of Russel's sentence, show his insensibility and hardness to have been such, that in questions where right and feelings were concerned, his good sense, and even the good taste for which he has been so much extolled, seemed wholly to desert him.

His good qualities.

On the other hand, it would be want of candor to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable, and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness, which the Stoics are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order, has never been denied him, and he had in an eminent degree that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributes greatly

to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the Queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

The best part of this Prince's character seems to have been his kindness towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Mrs. Gwyn, upon his death-bed, to his successor, is much to his honour; and they who censure it, seem, in their zeal to show themselves strict moralists, to have suffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into strange confusion. Charles's connection with those ladies might be vicious, but at a moment when that connection was upon the point of being finally, and irrevocably dissolved, to concern himself about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earnest tenderness, was virtue. It is not for the interest of morality that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, should be confounded. His affection for the Duke of Gloucester, and for the Dutchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, was a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, insinuate that his

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fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king: let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a Monster.

Reflections upon the probable consequences of his reign and death.

Whoever reviews the interesting period which we have been discussing, upon the principle recommended in the outset of this chapter, will find, that, from the consideration of the past, to prognosticate the future, would, at the moment of Charles's demise, be no easy task. Between two persons, one of whom should expect that the country would remain sunk in slavery, the other, that the cause of freedom would revive and triumph, it would be difficult to decide, whose reasons were better supported, whose speculations the more probable. I should guess that he who desponded, had looked more at the state of the public, while he who was sanguine, had fixed his eyes more attentively upon the person who was about to mount the throne. Upon reviewing the two great parties of the nation, one observation occurs very forcibly, and that is, that the great strength of the Whigs consisted in their being able to brand their adversaries as favourers of Popery; that of the Tories, (as far as their strength depended upon opinion, and not merely upon the power of the crown,) in their finding colour to represent the Whigs as republicans. From this observation we may draw a further inference, that, in proportion to the rashness of the Crown, in avowing and pressing forward the cause of Popery, and to the moderation and steadiness of the Whigs, in adhering to the form of monarchy, would be the chance of the people of England, for changing an ignominious despotism, for glory, liberty, and happiness.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF JAMES THE SECOND.

"Accession of James II.....His Declaration in Council :.....Accepta-
" ble to the Nation.....Arbitrary Designs of his Reign.....Former
" Ministers continued.....Money Transactions with France.....
" Revenue levied without Authority of Parliament.....Persecu-
" tion of Dissenters.....Character of Jefferies.....The King's Af-
" fectation of Independence.....Advances to the Prince of
" Orange.....The primary Object of this Reign.....Transactions
" in Scotland.....Severe Persecutions there.....Scottish Parlia-
" ment.....Cruelties of Government.....English Parliament; Its
" Proceedings.....Revenue.....Votes concerning Religion.....Bill
" for Preservation of the King's Person.....Solicitude for the
" Church of England.....Reversal of Stafford's Attainder reject-
" ed.....Parliament adjourned.....Character of the Tories.....Situa-
" tion of the Whigs."

1685.

Accession of James II. Feb. 6th.

CHARLES the SECOND expired on the sixth of February 1684-5, and on the same day his successor was proclaimed King in London, with the usual formalities, by the title of James the Second. The great influence which this prince was supposed to have possessed in the government, during the latter years of his brother's reign, and the expectation which was entertained, in consequence, that his measures, when monarch, would be of the same character and complexion with those which he was known to have highly approved, and of which he was thought by many to have been the principal author, when a subject, left little room for that spirit of speculation, which generally attends a demise of the Crown. And thus an event, which, when apprehended a few years before,

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had, according to a strong expression of Sir William Temple, been looked upon as the end of the world, was now deemed to be of small comparitive importance.

First steps of his reign.

Its tendency, indeed, was rather to ensure perseverance than to effect any change in the system which had been of late years pursued. As there are, however, some steps indispensably necessary on the accession of a new prince to the throne, to these the public attention was directed, and, though the character of James had been long so generally understood, as to leave little doubt respecting the political maxims and principles by which his reign would be governed, there was probably much curiosity, as upon such occasions there always is, with regard to the conduct he would pursue in matters of less importance, and to the general language and behaviour which he would adopt in his new situation. His first step was, of course, to assemble the privy council, to whom he spoke as follows:

His declaration in council.

"Before I enter upon any other business, I think "fit to say something to you. Since it hath pleased "Almighty God to place me in this situation, and I "am now to succeed so good and gracious a king, as "well as so very kind a brother, I think it fit to de- "clare to you, that I will endeavour to follow his ex- "ample, and most especially in that of his great cle- "mency and tenderness to his people. I have been "reported to be a man for arbitrary power; but that "is not the only story that has been made of me: and "I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this go- "vernment, both in Church and State, as it is now by "law established. I know the principles of the Church "of England are for Monarchy, and the members of "it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects; "therefore I shall always take care to defend and "support it. I know too, that the laws of England are

"sufficient to make the King as great a monarch as I "can wish; and as I shall never depart from the just "rights and prerogatives of the crown, so I shall "never invade any man's property. I have often "heretofore ventured my life in defence of this na- "tion; and I shall go as far as any man in preserving "it in all its just rights and liberties."*

Acceptable to the nation.

With this declaration the council were so highly satisfied, that they supplicated his Majesty to make it public, which was accordingly done; and it is reported to have been received with unbounded applause by the greater part of the nation. Some, perhaps, there were, who did not think the boast of having ventured his life, very manly, and who, considering the transactions of the last years of Charles's reign, were not much encouraged by the promise of imitating that monarch in clemency and tenderness to his subjects. To these it might appear, that whatever there was of consolatory in the King's disclaimer of arbitrary power, and professed attachment to the laws, was totally done away, as well by the consideration of what his majesty's notions of power and law were, as by his declaration, that he would follow the example of a predecessor, whose government had not only been marked with the violation, in particular cases, of all the most sacred laws of the realm, but had latterly, by the disuse of parliaments in defiance of the statute of the sixteenth year of his reign, stood upon a foundation radically and fundamentally illegal. To others it might occur, that even the promise to the Church of England, though express with respect to the condition of it, which was no other than perfect acquiescence in what the King deemed to be the true principles of monarchy, was rather vague with regard to the nature, or degree of support to which the royal speaker might

* Kennet, III. 420.

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conceive himself engaged. The words, although, in any interpretation of them, they conveyed more than he possibly ever intended to perform, did by no means express the sense which at that time, by his friends, and afterwards by his enemies, was endeavoured to be fixed on them. There was indeed a promise to support the establishment of the Church, and consequently the laws upon which that establishment immediately rested; but by no means an engagement to maintain all the collateral provisions which some of its more zealous members might judge necessary for its security.

Triumph of the Tories.

But whatever doubts or difficulties might be felt, few or none were expressed. The Whigs, as a vanquished party, were either silent, or not listened to, and the Tories were in a temper of mind which does not easily admit suspicion. They were not more delighted with the victory they had obtained over their adversaries, than with the additional stability which, as they vainly imagined, the accession of the new monarch was likely to give to their system. The truth is, that, his religion excepted, (and that objection they were sanguine enough to consider as done away by a few gracious words in favour of the Church,) James was every way better suited to their purpose than his brother. They had entertained continual apprehensions, not perhaps wholly unfounded, of the late King's returning kindness to Monmouth, the consequences of which could not easily be calculated; whereas, every occurrence that had happened, as well as every circumstance in James's situation, seemed to make him utterly irreconcileable with the Whigs. Besides, after the reproach, as well as alarm, which the notoriety of Charles's treacherous character must so often have caused them, the very circumstance of having at their head a Prince, of whom they could with any colour

hold out to their adherents, that his word was to be depended upon, was in itself a matter of triumph and exultation. Accordingly the watchword of the party was every where, *We have the word of a King, and a word never yet broken;* and to such a length was the spirit of adulation, or perhaps delusion, carried, that this royal declaration was said to be a better security for the liberty and religion of the nation, than any which the law could devise.* CHAP. II. 1685.

The King's arbitrary designs.

The King, though much pleased, no doubt, with the popularity which seemed to attend the commencement of his reign, as a powerful medium for establishing the system of absolute power, did not suffer himself, by any show of affection from his people, to be diverted from his design of rendering his government independent of them. To this design we must look as the main-spring of all his actions at this period; for with regard to the Roman Catholic religion, it is by no means certain that he had yet thought of obtaining for it any thing more than a complete toleration. With this view, therefore, he could not take a more judicious resolution than that which he had declared in his speech to the privy council, and to which he seems, at this time, to have steadfastly adhered, of making the government of his predecessor the model for his own. He therefore continued in their offices, notwithstanding the personal objections he might have to some of them, those servants of the late King, during whose administration that Prince had been so successful in subduing his subjects, and eradicating almost from the minds of Englishmen every sentiment of liberty.

Ministers reappointed.

Halifax.

Even the Marquis of Halifax, who was supposed to have remonstrated against many of the late measures, and to have been busy in recommending a

* Burnet.

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change of system to Charles, was continued in high employment by James, who told him, that, of all his past conduct, he should remember only his behaviour upon the Exclusion Bill, to which that nobleman had made a zealous and distinguished opposition; a handsome expression, which has been the more noticed, as well because it is almost the single instance of this Prince's showing any disposition to forget injuries, as on account of a delicacy and propriety in the wording of it by no means familiar to him.

Rochester.

Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, whom he appointed Lord Treasurer, was in all respects calculated to be a fit instrument for the purposes then in view. Besides being upon the worst terms with Halifax, in whom alone, of all his ministers, James was likely to find any bias in favour of popular principles, he was, both from prejudice of education, and from interest, inasmuch as he had aspired to be the head of the Tories, a great favourer of those servile principles of the Church of England, which had lately been so highly extolled from the throne. His near relation to the Dutchess of York might also be some recommendation, but his privity to the late pecuniary transactions between the courts of Versailles and London, and the cordiality with which he concurred in them, were by far more powerful titles to his new master's confidence. For it must be observed of this minister, as well as of many others of his party, that his *high* notions, as they are frequently styled, of power, regarded only the relation between the King and his subjects, and not that in which he might stand with respect to foreign Princes; so that, provided he could, by a dependence, however servile, upon Lewis the Fourteenth, be placed above the controul of his Parliament and people at home, he considered the honour of the crown unsullied.

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Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, who was continued as Secretary of State, had been at one period a supporter of the Exclusion Bill, and had been suspected of having offered the Dutchess of Portsmouth to obtain the succession of the crown for her son, the Duke of Richmond. Nay more, King James, in his memoirs, charges him with having intended, just at the time of Charles's death, to send him into a second banishment;* but with regard to this last point, it appears evident to me, that many things in those memoirs relative to this Earl, were written after James's abdication, and in the greatest bitterness of spirit, when he was probably in a frame of mind to believe any thing against a person by whom he conceived himself to have been basely deserted. The reappointment, therefore, of this nobleman to so important an office, is to be accounted for partly upon the general principle above mentioned, of making the new reign a mere continuation of the former, and partly upon Sunderland's extraordinary talents for ingratiating himself with persons in power, and persuading them that he was the fittest instrument for their purposes; a talent in which he seems to have surpassed all the intriguing statesmen of his time, or perhaps of any other.

Sunderland.

Money transactions with France.

An intimate connection with the court of Versailles being the principal engine by which the favourite project of absolute monarchy was to be effected, James, for the purpose of fixing and cementing that connection, sent for M. De Barillon, the French ambassador, the very day after his accession, and entered into the most confidential discourse with him. He explained to him his motives for intending to call a parliament, as well as his resolution to levy by authority,

* Macpherson's State Papers, I. 147.

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the revenue which his predecessor had enjoyed in virtue of a grant of parliament which determined with his life. He made general professions of attachment to Lewis, declared that in all affairs of importance it was his intention to consult that monarch, and apologized, upon the ground of the urgency of the case, for acting in the instance mentioned without his advice. Money was not directly mentioned, owing, perhaps, to some sense of shame upon that subject, which his brother had never experienced; but lest there should be a doubt whether that object were implied in the desire of support and protection, Rochester was directed to explain the matter more fully, and to give a more distinct interpretation of these general terms. Accordingly, that minister waited the next morning upon Barillon, and after having repeated, and enlarged upon the reasons for calling a parliament, stated, as an additional argument in defence of the measure, that without it, his master would become too chargeable to the French King; adding, however, that the assistance which might be expected from a Parliament, did not exempt him altogether from the necessity of resorting to that prince for pecuniary aids, for that without such, he would be at the mercy of his subjects, and that upon this beginning would depend the whole fortune of the reign.* If Rochester actually expressed himself as Barillon relates, the use intended to be made of Parliament, cannot but cause the most lively indignation, while it furnishes a complete answer to the historians who accuse the parliaments of those days of unseasonable parsimony in their grants to the Stuart Kings; for the grants of the people of England were not destined, it seems, to enable their Kings to oppose the

* Barillon's Letter, February 19, 1685, in the Appendix.

power of France, or even to be independent of her, but to render the influence which Lewis was resolved to preserve in this country, less chargeable to him, by furnishing their quota to the support of his royal dependant. CHAP. II. 1685.

The French ambassador sent immediately a detailed account of these conversations to his court, where, probably, they were not received with the less satisfaction on account of the request contained in them having been anticipated. Within a very few days from that in which the latter of them had passed, he was empowered to accompany the delivery of a letter from his master, with the agreeable news of having received from him bills of exchange to the amount of five hundred thousand livres, to be used in whatever manner might be convenient to the King of England's service. The account which Barillon gives, of the manner in which this sum was received, is altogether ridiculous: the King's eyes were full of tears, and three of his ministers, Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin, came severally to the French ambassador, to express the sense their master had of the obligation, in terms the most lavish.* Indeed, demonstrations of gratitude from the King directly, as well as through his ministers, for this supply, were such, as if they had been used by some unfortunate individual, who, with his whole family, had been saved, by the timely succour of some kind and powerful protector, from a gaol and all its horrors, would be deemed rather too strong than too weak. Barillon himself seems surprised when he relates them; but imputes them to what was probably their real cause, to the apprehensions that had been entertained, (very unrea- The King's abject gratitude.

* Barillon's Letter, Feb. 26, in the Appendix.

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sonable ones!) that the King of France might no longer choose to interfere in the affairs of England, and consequently his support could not be relied on for the grand object of assimilating this government to his own.

Sagacity and foresight of Lewis the fourteenth.

If such apprehensions did exist, it is probable that they were chiefly owing to the very careless manner, to say the least, in which Lewis had of late fulfilled his pecuniary engagements to Charles, so as to amount, in the opinion of the English ministers, to an actual breach of promise. But the circumstances were in some respects altered. The French King had been convinced that Charles would never call a parliament; nay further, perhaps, that if he did, he would not be trusted by one; and considering him therefore entirely in his power, acted from that principle in insolent minds, which makes them fond of ill-treating and insulting those whom they have degraded to a dependence on them. But James would probably be obliged at the commencement of a new reign, to call a parliament, and if well used by such a body, and abandoned by France, might give up his project of arbitrary power, and consent to govern according to the laws and constitution. In such an event, Lewis easily foresaw, that, instead of an useful dependant, he might find upon the throne of England a formidable enemy. Indeed, this Prince and his ministers seem all along, with a sagacity that does them credit, to have foreseen, and to have justly estimated, the dangers to which they would be liable, if a cordial union should ever take place between a King of England and his Parliament, and the British councils be directed by men enlightened and warmed by the genuine principles of liberty. It was therefore an object of great moment to bind the new King as early as possible, to the system of dependency [redacted] France; and mat-

ter of no less triumph to the court of Versailles to have retained him by so moderate a fee, than to that of London to receive a sum, which, though small, was thought valuable, as an earnest of better wages, and future protection. CHAP. II. 1685.

It had for some time been Lewis's favourite object to annex to his dominion what remained of the Spanish Netherlands, as well on account of their own intrinsic value, as to enable him to destroy the United Provinces and the Prince of Orange; and this object Charles had bound himself, by treaty with Spain, to oppose. In the joy, therefore, occasioned by this noble manner of proceeding, (for such it was called by all the parties concerned,) the first step was to agree, without hesitation, that Charles's treaty with Spain determined with his life; a decision which, if the disregard that had been shown to it, did not render the question concerning it nugatory, it would be difficult to support upon any principles of national law or justice. The manner in which the late King had conducted himself upon the subject of this treaty, that is to say, the violation of it, without formally renouncing it, was gravely commended, and stated to be no more than what might justly be expected from him; but the present King was declared to be still more free, and in no way bound by a treaty, from the execution of which his brother had judged himself to be sufficiently dispensed. This appears to be a nice distinction and what that degree of obligation was, from which James was exempt, but which had lain upon Charles, who neither thought himself bound, nor was expected by others to execute the treaty, it is difficult to conceive.* Treaty with Spain dispensed with.

* Barillon's Dispatches, May 5, 1685. Appendix.

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More money solicited from Lewis.

This preliminary being adjusted, the meaning of which, through all this contemptible shuffling, was that James, by giving up all concern for the Spanish Netherlands, should be at liberty to acquiesce in, or to second, whatever might be the ambitious projects of the court of Versailles, it was determined that Lord Churchill should be sent to Paris to obtain further pecuniary aids. But such was the impression made by the frankness and generosity of Lewis, that there was no question of discussing or capitulating, but every thing was remitted to that Prince, and to the information his ministers might give him, respecting the exigency of affairs in England. He who had so handsomely been beforehand, in granting the assistance of five hundred thousand livres, was only to be thanked for past, not importuned for future, munificence.* Thus ended, for the present, this disgusting scene of iniquity and nonsense, in which all the actors seemed to vie with each other in prostituting the sacred names of friendship, generosity, and gratitude, in one of the meanest and most criminal transactions which history records.

The principal parties in the business, besides the King himself, to whose capacity, at least, if not to his situation, it was more suitable, and Lord Churchill, who acted as an inferior agent, were Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin, all men of high rank, and considerable abilities, but whose understandings, as well as their principles, seem to have been corrupted by the pernicious schemes in which they were engaged. With respect to the last mentioned nobleman in particular, it is impossible, without pain, to see him engaged in such transactions. With what self-humilia-

* Barillon's Dispatches, Feb. 2[illegible] 1685. Appendix.

tion must he not have reflected upon them in subsequent periods of his life! How little could Barillon guess that he was negociating with one who was destined to be at the head of an administration, which, in a few years, would send the same Lord Churchill, not to Paris to implore Lewis for succours towards enslaving England, or to thank him for pensions to her monarch, but to combine all Europe against him, in the cause of liberty; to rout his armies, to take his towns, to humble his pride, and to shake to the foundation that fabric of power which it had been the business of a long life to raise at the expense of every sentiment of tenderness to his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations! It is with difficulty the reader can persuade himself that the Godolphin and Churchill here mentioned, are the same persons who were afterwards, one in the cabinet, one in the field, the great conductors of the war of the Succession. How little do they appear in one instance! how great in the other! And the investigation of the cause to which this excessive difference is principally owing, will produce a most useful lesson. Is the difference to be attributed to any superiority of genius in the prince whom they served in the latter period of their lives? Queen Anne's capacity appears to have been inferior even to her father's. Did they enjoy in a greater degree her favour and confidence? The very reverse is the fact. But in one case they were the tools of a King plotting against his people; in the other, the ministers of a free government acting upon enlarged principles, and with energies which no state that is not in some degree republican can supply. How forcibly must the contemplation of these men in such opposite situations teach persons engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is de-

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sirable, not only for the public good, but for their own greatness and consideration, for every object of generous ambition!

Customs levied without authority of Parliament.

The King having, as has been related, first privately communicated his intentions to the French ambassador, issued proclamations for the meeting of Parliament, and for levying upon his sole authority, the customs and other duties which had constituted part of the late King's revenue, but to which, the acts granting them having expired with the Prince, James was not legally entitled. He was advised by Lord Guildford, whom he had continued in the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, and who upon such a subject therefore, was a person likely to have the greatest weight, to satisfy himself with directing the money to be kept in the Exchequer for the disposal of Parliament, which was shortly to meet; and by others, to take bonds from the merchants for the duties, to be paid when Parliament should legalize them.* But these expedients were not suited to the King's views, who, as well on account of his engagement with France, as from his own disposition, was determined to take no step that might indicate an intention of governing by Parliaments, or a consciousness of his being dependant upon them for his revenue. He adopted, therefore, the advice of Jefferies, advice not resulting so much, probably, either from ignorance or violence of disposition, as from his knowledge that it would be most agreeable to his master; and directed the duties to be paid as in the former reign. It was pretended, that an interruption in levying some of the duties might be hurtful to trade; but as every difficulty of that kind was obviated by the expedients proposed, this arbitrary and violent measure can with no colour

* Life of Lord Keeper North.

be ascribed to a regard to public convenience, nor to any other motive than to a desire of reviving Charles the First's claims to the power of taxation, and of furnishing a most intelligible comment upon his speech to the council on the day of his accession. It became evident what the King's notions were, with respect to that regal prerogative from which he professed himself determined never to depart, and to that property which he would never invade. What were the remaining rights and liberties of the nation, which he was to preserve, might be more difficult to discover; but that the laws of England, in the royal interpretation of them, were sufficient to make the King as great a monarch as he, or indeed any prince, could desire, was a point that could not be disputed. This violation of law was in itself most flagrant: it was applied to a point well understood, and thought to have been so completely settled by repeated and most explicit declarations, of the legislature, that it must have been doubtful whether even the most corrupt judges, if the question had been tried, would have had the audacity to decide it against the subject. But no resistance was made; nor did the example of Hampden, which a half century before had been so successful, and rendered that patriot's name so illustrious, tempt any one to emulate his fame; so completely had the crafty and sanguinary measures of the late reign attained the object to which they were directed, and rendered all men either afraid or unwilling to exert themselves in the cause of liberty. CHAP. II. 1685.

On the other hand, addresses the most servile were daily sent to the throne. That of the University of Oxford stated, that the religion which they professed bound them to unconditional obedience to their sovereign, without restrictions or limitations; and the Addresses.

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Society of Barristers and Students of the Middle Temple thanked his Majesty for the attention he had shown to the trade of the kingdom, concerning which, and its balance, (and upon this last article they laid particular stress,) they seemed to think themselves peculiarly called upon to deliver their opinion; but whatever might be their knowledge in matters of trade, it was at least equal to that which these addressers showed in the laws and constitution of their country, since they boldly affirmed the King's right to levy the duties, and declared that it had never been disputed but by persons engaged in what they were pleased to call, rebellion against his royal father. The address concluded with a sort of prayer, that all his Majesty's subjects might be as good lawyers as themselves, and disposed to acknowledge the royal prerogative in all its extent.

If these addresses are remarkable for their servility, that of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the county of Suffolk was no less so for the spirit of party violence that was displayed in it. They would take care, they said, to choose representatives who should no more endure those who had been for the Exclusion Bill, than the last Parliament had the abhorrers of the association; and thus not only endeavoured to keep up his Majesty's resentment against a part of their fellow subjects, but engaged themselves to imitate, for the purpose of retaliation, that part of the conduct of their adversaries, which they considered as most illegal and oppressive.*

Observations on them.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that among all the adulatory addresses of this time, there is not to be found, in any one of them, any declaration of disbelief in the Popish Plot, or any charge upon the late

* Rapin.

Parliament, for having prosecuted it, though it could not but be well known, that such topics would, of all others, be most agreeable to the Court. Hence we may collect that the delusion on this subject was by no means at an end, and that they who, out of a desire to render history conformable to the principles of political justice, attribute the unpopularity, and downfall of the Whigs, to the indignation excited by their furious and sanguinary prosecution of the plot, are egregiously mistaken. If this had been in any degree the prevailing sentiment, it is utterly unaccountable, that, so far from its appearing in any of the addresses of these times, this most just ground of reproach upon the Whig party, and the Parliament in which they had had the superiority, was the only one omitted in them. The fact appears to have been the very reverse of what such historians suppose, and the activity of the late parliamentary leaders, in prosecuting the Popish plot, was the principle circumstance which reconciled the nation for a time, to their other proceedings; that their conduct in that business, (now so justly condemned,) was the grand engine of their power, and that when that failed, they were soon overpowered by the united forces of bigotry and corruption. They were hated by a great part of the nation, not for their crimes, but for their virtues. To be above corruption is always odious to the corrupt, and to entertain more enlarged and juster notions of philosophy and government, is often a cause of alarm to the narrow minded and superstitious. In those days particularly, it was obvious to refer to the confusion, greatly exaggerated, of the times of the Commonwealth; and it was an excellent watch-word of alarm, to accuse every lover of law and liberty, of designs to revive the tragical scene which had closed the life of the first Charles. In this spirit, therefore, the Exclu-

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sion Bill, and the alleged conspiracies of Sidney and Russel were, as might naturally be expected, the chief charges urged against the Whigs; but their conduct on the subject of the Popish plot, was so far from being the cause of the hatred borne to them, that it was not even used as a topic of accusation against them.

Late King's Declaration,

In order to keep up that spirit in the nation, which was thought to be manifested in the addresses, his Majesty ordered the Declaration, to which allusion was made in the last chapter, to be published, interwoven with a history of the Rye-house plot, which is said to have been drawn by Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester. The principal drift of this publication was, to load the memory of Sidney and Russel, and to blacken the character of the Duke of Monmouth, by wickedly confounding the consultations holden by them, with the plot for assassinating the late King, and in this object, it seems in a great measure to have succeeded. He also caused to be published, an attestation of his brother's having died a Roman Catholic, together with two papers, drawn up by him, in favour of that persuasion. This is generally considered to have been a very ill-advised instance of zeal; but probably James thought, that, at a time when people seemed to be so in love with his power, he might safely venture to indulge himself in a display of his attachment to his religion; and perhaps too, it might be thought good policy, to show that a Prince, who had been so highly complimented as Charles had been, for the restoration and protection of the church, had, in truth, been a Catholic, and thus, to inculcate an opinion, that the Church of England might not only be safe, but highly favoured, under the reign of a Popish Prince.

and attestation of his dying a Catholic published.

Persecution of Dissenters.

Partly from similar motives, and partly to gratify the natural vindictiveness of his temper, he persevered

in a most cruel persecution of the Protestant Dissenters, upon the most frivolous pretences. The courts of justice, as in Charles's days, were instruments equally ready, either for seconding the policy, or for gratifying the bad passions, of the Monarch; and Jefferies, whom the late King had appointed Chief Justice of England, a little before Sidney's trial, was a man entirely agreeable to the temper, and suitable to the purposes, of the present government. He was thought not to be very learned in his profession: but what might be wanting in knowledge, he made up in positiveness; and indeed whatever might be the difficulties in questions between one object and another, the fashionable doctrine which prevailed at that time, of supporting the King's prerogative in its full extent, and without restriction or limitation, rendered, to such as espoused it, all that branch of law, which is called constitutional, extremely easy and simple. He was as submissive and mean to those above him, as he was haughty and insolent to those who were in any degree in his power; and if in his own conduct he did not exhibit a very nice regard for morality, or even for decency, he never failed to animadvert upon, and to punish, the most slight deviation in others, with the utmost severity, especially if they were persons whom he suspected to be no favourites of the Court.

Jefferies' character.

Before this magistrate was brought for trial, by a jury sufficiently prepossessed in favour of Tory politics, the Rev. Richard Baxter, a dissenting minister; a pious and learned man, of exemplary character, always remarkable for his attachment to monarchy, and for leaning to moderate measures in the differences between the church, and those of his persuasion. The pretence for this prosecution was, a supposed reference of some passages in one of his works, to the

Richard Baxter persecuted.

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bishops of the church of England; a reference which was certainly not intended by him, and which could not have been made out to any jury that had been less prejudiced, or under any other direction than that of Jefferies. The real motive was, the desire of punishing an eminent dissenting teacher, whose reputation was high among his sect, and who was supposed to favour the political opinions of the Whigs. He was found guilty, and Jefferies, in passing sentence upon him, loaded him with the coarsest reproaches and bitterest taunts. He called him sometimes, by way of derision, a saint, sometimes, in plainer terms, an old rogue; and classed this respectable divine, to whom the only crime imputed, was the having spoken disrespectfully of the bishops of a communion to which he did not belong, with the infamous Oates, who had been lately convicted of perjury. He finished with declaring, that it was matter of public notoriety, that there was a formed design to ruin the King and the nation, in which this old man was the principal incendiary. Nor is it improbable that this declaration, absurd as it was, might gain belief, at a time when the credulity of the triumphant party was at its height.

Credulity of the nation.

Of this credulity it seems to be no inconsiderable testimony, that some affected nicety, which James had shown, with regard to the ceremonies to be used towards the French ambassador, was highly magnified, and represented to be an indication of the different tone that was to be taken by the present King, in regard to foreign powers, and particularly to the court Versailles. The King was represented as a Prince eminently jealous of the national honour, and determined to preserve the balance of power in Europe, by opposing the ambitious projects of France, at the very time when he was supplicating Lewis to be his pensioner, and expressing the most extravagant gratitude,

for having been accepted as such. From the information which we now have, it appears that his applications to Lewis for money were incessant, and that the difficulties were all on the side of the French court.* Of the historians who wrote prior to the inspection of the papers in the Foreign Office in France, Burnet is the only one who seems to have known that James's pretensions of independency with respect to the French King, were, (as he terms them,) only a show; but there can now be no reason to doubt the truth of the anecdote which he relates, that Lewis, soon after, told the Duke of Villeroy,† that if James showed any apparent uneasiness concerning the balance of power, (and there is some reason to suppose he did,) in his conversations with the Spanish, and other foreign ambassadors, his intention was, probably, to alarm the court of Versailles, and thereby to extort pecuniary assistance to a greater extent; while, on the other hand, Lewis, secure in the knowledge, that his views of absolute power must continue him in dependance upon France, seems to have refused further supplies, and even in some measure to have withdrawn those which had been stipulated, as a mark of his displeasure with his dependant, for assuming a higher tone than he thought becoming.‡

His advances to the Prince of Orange.

Whether with a view of giving some countenance to those who were praising him upon the abovementioned topic, or from what other motive it is now not easy to conjecture, James seems to have wished to be upon apparent good terms, at least, with the Prince of Orange; and after some correspondence with that Prince, concerning the protection afforded by him, and

* Vide Appendix passim. † Vide Burnet, Vol. II. p. 302.

‡ Lewis's Letter to Barillon, April 24. Appendix.

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the States General, to Monmouth, and other obnoxious persons, it appears that he declared himself, in consequence of certain explanations and concessions, perfectly satisfied. It is to be remarked, however, that he thought it necessary to give the French ambassador an account of this transaction, and in a manner to apologize to him for entering into any sort of terms with a son-in-law, who was supposed to be hostile in disposition to the French King. He assured Barillon, that a change of system, on the part of the Prince of Orange, in regard to Lewis, should be a condition of his reconciliation: he afterwards informed him, that the Prince of Orange had answered him satisfactorily in all other respects, but had not taken notice of his wish that he should connect himself with France; but never told him that he had, notwithstanding the Prince's silence on that material point, expressed himself completely satisfied with him.* That a proposition to the Prince of Orange, to connect himself in politics with Lewis, would, (if made,) have been rejected, in the manner in which the king's account to Barillon implies that it was, there can be no doubt; but whether James ever had the assurance to make it, is more questionable; for, as he evidently acted disingenuously with the ambassador, in concealing from him the complete satisfaction he had expressed of the Prince of Orange's present conduct;† it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he deceived him still further, and pretended to have made an application, which he had never hazarded. However, the ascertaining of this fact is by no means necessary for the illustration, either of the general history, or of James's particular character; since it appears, that the propo-

* Barillon's Dispatches, March 1, and 5. Appendix.

† Dalrymple's Mem. II. 116.

sition, if made, was rejected; and James is, in any case, equally convicted of insincerity; the only point in question being, whether he deceived the French ambassador, in regard to the fact of his having made the proposition, or to the sentiments he expressed upon its being refused. Nothing serves more to show the dependance in which he considered himself to be upon Lewis, than these contemptible shifts, to which he condescended, for the purposes of explaining, and apologizing for, such parts of his conduct, as might be supposed to be less agreeable to that monarch than the rest. An English Parliament acting upon constitutional principles, and the Prince of Orange, were the two enemies whom Lewis most dreaded; and accordingly, whenever James found it necessary to make approaches to either of them, an apology was immediately to be offered to the French ambassador, to which truth sometimes, and honour was always sacrificed.*

The primary object of his reign,

Mr. Hume says, the King found himself, by degrees, under the necessity of falling into an union with the French monarch, who could alone assist him, in promoting the Catholic religion in England. But when that historian wrote, those documents had not been made public, from which the account of the communications with Barillon has been taken, and by which it appears that a connection with France was, as well in point of time, as in importance, the first object of his reign, and that the immediate specific motive to that connection, was the same as that of his brother; the desire of rendering himself independent of Parliament, and absolute, not that of establishing Popery in England, which was considered as a more remote contingency.† That this was the case, is evi-

* Vide Appendix passim.

† Appendix passim.

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dent from all the circumstances of the transaction, and especially from the zeal with which he was served in it by Ministers who were never suspected of any leaning towards Popery, and not one of whom (Sunderland excepted,) could be brought to the measures that were afterwards taken in favour of that religion. It is the more material to attend to this distinction, because the Tory historians, especially such of them as are not Jacobites, have taken much pains to induce us to attribute the violences and illegalities of this reign to James's religion, which was peculiar to him, rather than to that desire of absolute power, which so many other princes have had, have, and always will have in common with him. The policy of such misrepresentation is obvious. If this reign is to be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively, to the particular character, and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a Catholic for our King; whereas, if we consider it, which history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart Kings, as well prior, as subsequent, to the Restoration, the lesson which it affords is very different, as well as far more instructive. We are taught, generally, the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favour to a Prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notions of the constitution, we, in any considerable degree, abate of that vigilant, and unremitting jealousy of the power of the crown, which can alone secure to us the effect of those wise laws that have been provided for the benefit of the subject; and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object,

misrepresented by historians.

such, for instance, as the church in James's case, from its grasp. CHAP. II. 1685

Previous to meeting his English Parliament, James directed a parliament which had been summoned in the preceding reign, to assemble at Edinburgh, and appointed the Duke of Queensbury his commissioner. This appointment is, in itself, a strong indication, that the King's views, with regard to Scotland at least, were similar to those which I have ascribed to him in England; and that they did not at that time extend to the introduction of Popery, but were altogether directed to the establishment of absolute power as the *end*, and to the support of an episcopal church, upon the model of the church of England, as the *means*. For Queensbury had explained himself to his Majesty, in the fullest manner, upon the subject of religion; and while he professed himself to be ready, (as indeed his conduct in the late reign had sufficiently proved,) to go any length in supporting royal power, and in persecuting the Presbyterians, had made it a condition of his services, that he might understand from his Majesty, that there was no intention of changing the established religion; for if such was the object, he could not make any one step with him in that matter. James received this declaration most kindly; assured him he had no such intention, and that he would have a parliament, to which he, Queensbury, should go as commissioner; and giving all possible assurances in the matter of religion, get the revenue to be settled, and such other laws to be passed, as might be necessary for the public safety. With these promises the Duke was not only satisfied at the time, but declared, at a subsequent period, that they had been made in so frank and hearty a manner, as made him conclude, that it was impossible that the King should be acting a part. And this nobleman was considered, and is

Scottish Parliament, April 23.

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handed down to us by contemporary writers, as a man of a penetrating genius, nor has it ever been the national character of the country to which he belonged, to be more liable to be imposed upon, than the rest of mankind.

The King's letter.

The Scottish Parliament met on the 23d of April, and was opened by the Commissioner, with the following letter from the King:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The many experiences we have had of the loyal-
"ty, and exemplary forwardness of that our ancient
"kingdom, by their representatives in parliament as-
"sembled, in the reign of our deceased, and most
"entirely beloved brother, of ever blessed memory,
"made us desirous to call you at this time, in the be-
"ginning of our reign, to give you an opportunity,
"not only of showing your duty to us in the same
"manner, but likewise of being exemplary to others,
"in your demonstrations of affection to our person,
"and compliance with our desires, as you have most
"eminently been in times past, to a degree never to
"be forgotten by us, nor, (we hope,) to be contra-
"dicted by your future practices. That which we
"are at this time to propose unto you is, what is as
"necessary for your safety as our service, and what
"has a tendency more to secure your own privileges
"and properties, than the aggrandizing our power
"and authority, (though in it consists the greatest se-
"curity of your rights and interests, these never hav-
"ing been in danger, except when the royal power
"was brought too low to protect them,) which now
"we are resolved to maintain in its greatest lustre,
"to the end we may be the more enabled to defend
"and protect your religion as established by law;
"and your rights and properties (which was our de-

" sign in calling this parliament) against fanatical con-
" trivances, murderers and assassins, who having no
" fear of God, more than honour for us, have brought
" you into such difficulties, as only the blessing of
" God upon the steady resolutions, and actings of our
" said dearest royal brother, and those employed by
" him, (in prosecution of the good and wholesome
" laws, by you heretofore offered,) could have saved
" you from the most horrid confusions, and inevitable
" ruin. Nothing has been left unattempted by those
" wild, and inhuman traitors, for endeavouring to
" overturn your peace: and therefore, we have good
" reason to hope, that nothing will be wanting in you,
" to secure yourselves and us from their outrages and
" violence, in time coming; and to take care that
" such conspirators meet with their just deservings,
" so as others may thereby be deterred from courses
" so little agreeable to religion, or their duty and al-
" legiance to us. These things we considered to be
" of so great importance to our royal, as well as the
" universal, interest of that our kingdom, that we
" were fully resolved, in person, to have proposed the
" needful remedies to you. But things having so
" fallen out, as render this impossible for us, we have
" now thought fit, to send our right trusty, and right
" entirely beloved cousin, and counsellor, William
" Duke of Queensbury, to be our commissioner
" amongst you; of whose abilities and qualifications
" we have reason to be fully satisfied, and of whose
" faithfulness to us, and zeal for our interest, we have
" had signal proofs, in the times of our greatest diffi-
" culties. Him we have fully entrusted in all things
" relating to our service, and your own prosperity
" and happiness, and therefore, you are to give him
" entire trust and credit, as you now see we have
" done, from whose prudence, and your most dutiful

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"affection to us, we have full confidence of your entire compliance and assistance in all those matters, wherein he is instructed as aforesaid. We do therefore, not only recommend unto you, that such things be done as are necessary in this juncture, for your own peace, and the support of our royal interest, of which we had so much experience when amongst you, that we cannot doubt of your full and ample expressing the same on this occasion, by which the great concern we have in you, our ancient and kindly people, may still increase, and you may transmit your loyal actions, (as examples of duty,) to your posterity. In full confidence whereof we do assure you of our royal favour and protection, in all your concerns; and so we bid you heartily farewell."

This letter deserves the more attention, because, as the proceedings of the Scotch parliament, according to a remarkable expression in the letter itself, were intended to be an example to others, there is the greatest reason to suppose the matter of it must have been maturely weighed and considered. His Majesty first compliments the Scotch parliament, upon their peculiar loyalty, and dutiful behaviour in past times, meaning, no doubt, to contrast their conduct with that of those English parliaments who had passed the Exclusion Bill, the Disbanding Act, the Habeas Corpus Act, and other measures hostile to his favourite principles of government. He states the granting of an independant revenue, and the supporting the prerogative in its greatest lustre, if not the aggrandizing of it, to be necessary for the preservation of their religion, established by law, (that is the Protestant Episcopacy,) as well as for the security of their properties against fanatical assassins and murderers; thus emphatically announcing a complete

union of interests between the Crown and the Church. He then bestows a complete and unqualified approbation of the persecuting measures of the last reign, in which he had borne so great a share: and to those measures, and to the steadiness with which they had been persevered in, he ascribes the escape of both church and state from the fanatics, and expresses his regret that he could not be present, to propose in person, the other remedies of a similar nature, which he recommended as needful in the present conjuncture. CHAP. II. 1685.

Transactions in Scotland.

Now, it is proper, in this place, to enquire into the nature of the measures thus extolled, as well for the purpose of elucidating the characters of the King and his Scottish ministers, as for that of rendering more intelligible the subsequent proceedings of the parliament, and the other events which soon after took place in that kingdom. Some general notions may be formed of that course of proceedings, which, according to his Majesty's opinion, had been so laudably and resolutely pursued during the late reign, from the circumstances alluded to in the preceding chapter, when it is understood, that the sentences of Argyle and Laurie of Blackwood were not detached instances of oppression, but rather a sample of the general system of administration. The covenant, which had been so solemnly taken by the whole kingdom, and, among the rest, by the King himself, had been declared to be unlawful, and a refusal to abjure it had been made subject to the severest penalties. Episcopacy, which was detested by a great majority of the nation, had been established, and all public exercise of religion, in the forms to which the people were most attached, had been prohibited. The attendance upon field conventicles had been made highly penal, and the preaching at them capital; by which means, according to the computation of a late writer, no less

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remarkable for the accuracy of his facts, than for the force and justness of his reasonings, at least seventeen thousand persons in one district were involved in criminality, and became the object of persecution. After this, letters had been issued by government, forbidding the intercommuning with persons who had neglected, or refused, to appear before the privy council, when cited for the above crimes; a proceeding, by which, not only all succour or assistance to such persons, but, according to the strict sense of the word made use of, all intercourse with them, was rendered criminal, and subjected him who disobeyed the prohibition to the same penalties, whether capital or others, which were affixed to the alleged crimes of the party with whom he had intercommuned.*

Measures of persecution.

These measures not proving effectual for the purpose for which they were intended, or, as some say, the object of Charles the Second's government being to provoke an insurrection, a demand was made upon the landholders, in the district supposed to be most disaffected, of bonds, whereby they were to become responsible for their wives, families, tenants, and servants; and likewise for the wives, families, and servants of their tenants, and finally, for all persons living upon their estates; that they should not withdraw from the church, frequent or preach at conventicles, nor give any succour, or have any intercourse with persons with whom it was forbidden to intercommune; and the penalties attached to the breach of this engagement, the keeping of which was obviously out of the power of him who was required to make it, were to be the same as those, whether capital or other, to which the several persons, for whom he engaged, might be liable. The landholders, not being willing to

* Laing's History, Vol. IV. 34. 60. 74. Woodrow.

subscribe to their own destruction, refused to execute the bonds, and this was thought sufficient grounds for considering the district to which they belonged as in a state of rebellion. English and Irish armies were ordered to the frontiers; a train of artillery, and the militia, were sent into the district itself; and six thousand Highlanders, who were let loose upon its inhabitants, to exercise every species of pillage and plunder, were connived at, or rather encouraged, in excesses of a still more atrocious nature.*

Writs of Law-burrows.

The bonds being still refused, the government had recourse to an expedient of a most extraordinary nature; and issued what the Scotch called a writ of Law-burrows, against the whole district. This writ of Law-burrows is somewhat analagous to what we call *swearing the peace* against any one, and had hitherto been supposed, as the other is with us, to be applicable to the disputes of private individuals, and to the apprehensions, which, in consequence of such disputes they may mutually entertain of each other. A Government swearing the peace against its subjects was a new spectacle; *but if a private subject, under fear of another, hath a right to such a security, how much more the government itself?* was thought an unanswerable argument. Such are the sophistries which tyrants deem satisfactory. Thus are they willing even to descend from their loftiness, into the situation of subjects or private men, when it is for the purpose of acquiring additional powers of persecution; and thus truly formidable and terrific are they, when they pretend alarm and fear. By these writs, the persons against whom they were directed, were bound, as in case of the former bonds, to conditions which were not in their power to fulfil, such as the preventing of conventicles and

* Burnet. Woodrow. Laing, IV. 83.

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the like, under such penalties as the privy council might inflict, and a disobedience to them was followed by outlawry and confiscation.

Approved of at Court.

The conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale who was the chief actor in these scenes of violence and iniquity, was completely approved and justified at Court, but, in consequence, probably, of the state of polities in England, at a time when the Whigs were strongest in the House of Commons, some of these grievances were in part redressed, and the Highlanders, and writs of Law-burrows were recalled. But the country was still treated like a conquered country. The Highlanders were replaced by an army of five thousand regulars, and garrisons were placed in private houses. The persecution of conventicles continued; and ample indemnity was granted for every species of violence that might be exercised by those employed to suppress them. In this state of things, the assassination and murder of Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by a troop of fanatics, who had been driven to madness by the oppression of Carmichael, one of that prelate's instruments, while it gave an additional spur to the vindictive temper of the government, was considered by it as a justification for every mode and degree of cruelty and persecution. The outrage committed by a few individuals, was imputed to the whole fanatic sect, as the government termed them, or, in other words, to a description of people which composed a great majority of the population in the low-lands of Scotland; and those who attended field or armed conventicles, were ordered to be indiscriminately massacred.

Assassination of Archbishop Sharp.

Insurrection of Bothwell Bridge,

By such means an insurrection was at last produced which, from the weakness, or, as some suppose, from the wicked policy of an administration eager for confiscations, and desirous of such a state of the country

as might, in some measure, justify their course of government, *[made such a progress that the insurgents] became masters of Glasgow, and the country adjacent. To quell these insurgents, who, undisciplined as they were, had defeated Graham, afterwards Viscount Dundee, the Duke of Monmouth was sent with an army from England; but, lest the generous mildness of his nature should prevail, he had sealed orders, which he was not to open till in sight of the rebels, enjoining him not to treat with them, but to fall upon them, without any previous negotiation. In pursuance of these orders, the insurgents were attacked at Bothwell Bridge, where, though they were entirely routed and dispersed, yet, because those who surrendered at discretion were not put to death, and the army, by the strict enforcing of discipline, were prevented from plunder and other outrages, it was represented by James, and in some degree even by the King, that Monmouth had acted as if he had meant rather to put himself at the head of the fanatics than to repel them, and were inclined rather to court their friendship than to punish their rebellion. All complaints against Lauderdale were dismissed; his power confirmed; and an act of indemnity, which had been procured at Monmouth's intercession, was so clogged with exceptions, as to be of little use to any but to the agents of tyranny. Several persons, who were neither directly, nor indirectly concerned in the murder of the Archbishop, were executed as an expiation for that offence; † but many more were obliged to compound for their lives, by submitting to the most rapacious

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* The words between the brackets have been inserted to complete the sense, there having been evidently an omission in the manuscript copy.

† Laing, IV. 164. Woodrow, II. 87. 90.

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extortion, which at this particular period seems to have been the engine of oppression most in fashion, and which was extended, not only to those who had been in any way concerned in the insurrection, but to those who had neglected to attend the standard of the King, when displayed against what was styled, in the usual insulting language of tyrants, a most unnatural rebellion.

More severe persecution.

The quiet produced by such means, was, as might be expected, of no long duration. Enthusiasm was increased by persecution, and the fanatic preachers found no difficulty in persuading their flocks, to throw off all allegiance to a government, which afforded them no protection. The King was declared to be an apostate from the Covenant, a tyrant, and an usurper; and Cargill, one of the most enthusiastic among the preachers, pronounced a formal sentence of excommunication against him, his brother the Duke of York, and others, their ministers and abettors. This outrage upon majesty, together with an insurrection, contemptible in point of numbers and strength, in which Cameron, another field preacher, had been killed, furnished a pretence which was by no means neglected, for new cruelties and executions; but neither death nor torture were sufficient to subdue the minds of Cargill, and his intrepid followers. They all gloried in their sufferings; nor could the meanest of them be brought to purchase their lives by a retractation of their principles, or even by an expression that might be construed into an approbation of their persecutors. The effect of this heroic constancy upon the minds of their oppressors, was to persuade them not to lessen the numbers of executions, but to render them more private;* whereby they exposed the true character of

* Woodrow, II. 189.

their government, which was not severity, but violence, not justice, but vengeance: for, example being the only legitimate end of punishment, where that is likely to encourage, rather than to deter, (as the government in these instances seems to have apprehended,) and consequently to prove more pernicious than salutary, every punishment inflicted by the magistrate is cruelty; every execution, murder. The rage of punishment did not stop even here; but questions were put to persons, and in many instances to persons under torture, who had not been proved to have been in any of the insurrections, whether *they considered the Archbishop's assassination as murder, the rising at Bothwell Bridge rebellion, and Charles a lawful King.* The refusal to answer these questions, or the answering of them in an unsatisfactory manner, was deemed a proof of guilt, and immediate execution ensued. CHAP. II. 1685.

These last proceedings had taken place while James himself had the government in his hands, and under his immediate directions. Not long after, and when the Exclusionists in England were supposed to be entirely defeated, was passed, (James being the King's commissioner,) the famous Bill of Succession, declaring that no difference of religion, nor any statute or law grounded upon such, or any other pretence, could defeat the hereditary right of the heir to the crown, and that to propose any limitation upon the future administration of such heir, was high treason. But the Protestant religion was to be secured; for those who were most obsequious to the Court, and the most willing and forward instruments of its tyranny, were, nevertheless, zealous Protestants. A Test was therefore framed for this purpose, which was imposed upon all persons exercising any civil or military functions whatever, the royal family alone excepted: but to the declaration of adherence to the Protestant religion, Act of Succession and test.

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was added a recognition of the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and a complete renunciation in civil concerns, of every right belonging to a free subject. An adherence to the Protestant religion, according to the confession of it referred to in the test, seemed to some inconsistent with the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, and that clause of the oath which related to civil matters, inasmuch as it declared against endeavouring at any alteration in the Church or State, seemed incompatible with the duties of a counsellor or a member of parliament. Upon these grounds the Earl of Argyle, in taking the oath, thought fit to declare as follows:

Argyle condemned for his explanation of the test.

"I have considered the test, and I am very desirous "to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident "the Parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths; therefore I think no man can explain it "but for himself. Accordingly I take it, as far as it "is consistent with itself, and the Protestant religion. "And I do declare, that I mean not to bind up myself in my station, and in a lawful way, to wish and "endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of "the Church or State, not repugnant to the Protestant "Religion and my loyalty. And this I understand as "a part of the oath."....And for this declaration, though unnoticed at the time, he was in a few days afterwards committed, and shortly after sentenced to die.* Nor was the test applied only to those for whom it had been originally instituted, but by being

* The disgusting ease with which James, (in his Memoirs, Macpherson's State Papers, I. 123) speaks of Argyle's case, his pretence that he put his life in jeopardy only with a view to seize his property, seem to destroy all notions of this Prince's having had any honour or conscience; nor after this, can we give much credit to the declaration, that Argyle's life was not aimed at. *Note from Mr. Fox's Common Place Book.*

offered to those numerous classes of people who were within the reach of the late severe criminal laws, as an alternative for death or confiscation, it might fairly be said to be imposed upon the greater part of the country.

Not long after these transactions, James took his final leave of the government, and in his parting speech recommended, in the strongest terms, the support of the church. This gracious expression, the sincerity of which seemed to be evinced by his conduct to the conventiclers, and the severity with which he had enforced the test, obtained him a testimonial from the Bishops of his affection to their Protestant church; a testimonial, to which, upon the principle, that they are the best friends to the church, who are most willing to persecute such as dissent from it, he was, notwithstanding his own non-conformity, most amply entitled.*

Queensberry's administration ensued, in which the maxims that had guided his predecessors were so far from being relinquished, that they were pursued, if possible, with greater steadiness and activity. Lawrie of Blackwood was condemned for having holden intercourse with a rebel, whose name was not to be found in any of the lists of the intercommuned or proscribed; and a proclamation was issued, threatening all who were in like circumstances with a similar fate. The intercourse with rebels having been in great parts of the kingdom promiscuous and universal, more than twenty thousand persons were objects of this menace.† Fines and extortions of all kinds were employed to enrich the public treasury, to which, therefore, the multiplication of crimes became a fruitful source of revenue; and lest it should not be suf-

Queensberry's extortions.

* Burnet. † Burnet. Laing, 132.

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ficiently so, husbands were made answerable, (and that too with a retrospect,) for the absence of their wives from church; a circumstance which the Presbyterian women's aversion to the episcopal form of worship, had rendered very general.*

Declaration of the Cameronians.

This system of government, and especially the rigour with which those concerned in the late insurrections, the excommunication of the King, or the other outrages complained of, were pursued and hunted, sometimes by blood-hounds, sometimes by soldiers almost equally savage, and afterwards shot like wild beasts, † drove some of those sectaries who were styled Cameronians, and other proscribed persons, to measures of absolute desperation. They made a declaration, which they caused to be affixed to different churches, importing that they would use the law of retaliation, and "*we will*," said they, "*punish as* "*enemies to God, and to the covenant, such persons as* "*shall make it their work to imbrue their hands in our* "*blood; and chiefly, if they shall continue obstinately,* "*and with habitual malice to proceed against us*," with more to the like effect. ‡ Upon such an occasion, the interference of government became necessary. The government did indeed interfere, and by a vote of council, ordered, that whoever owned, or refused to disown, the Declaration on oath, should be put to death, in the presence of two witnesses, though unarmed when taken. The execution of this massacre, in the twelve counties which were principally concerned, was committed to the military, and exceeded, if possible, the order itself. The disowning the Declaration was required to be in a particular form prescribed. Women, obstinate in their fanaticism, lest female blood should be a stain upon the swords of sol-

Massacre of Fanatics.

* Burnet 740. † Woodrow, II. 447. 449. ‡ Ibid. Apend.

diers engaged in this honourable employment, were drowned. The habitations, as well of those who had fled to save themselves, as of those who suffered, were burnt and destroyed. Such members of the families of the delinquents as were above twelve years old, were imprisoned for the purpose of being afterwards transported. The brutality of the soldiers was such as might be expected from an army let loose from all restraint, and employed to execute the royal justice, as it was called, upon wretches. Graham, who has been mentioned before, and who, under the title of Lord Dundee, a title which was probably conferred upon him by James for these or similar services, was afterwards esteemed such a hero among the Jacobite party, particularly distinguished himself. Of six unarmed fugitives whom he seized, he caused four to be shot in his presence, nor did the remaining two experience any other mercy from him than a delay of their doom; and at another time, having intercepted the flight of one of these victims, he had him shown to his family, and then murdered in the arms of his wife! The example of persons of such high rank, and who must be presumed to have had an education in some degree correspondent to their station, could not fail of operating upon men of a lower order in society. The carnage became every day more general and more indiscriminate; and the murder of peasants in their houses, or while employed at their usual work in the fields, by the soldiers, was not only not reproved or punished, but deemed a meritorious service by their superiors.* The demise of King Charles, which happened about this time, caused no suspension or relaxation in these proceedings, which seemed to have been the crowning measure, as

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* Burnet. Woodrow. Laing.

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it were, or finishing stroke, of that system, for the steady perseverance in which, James so much admired the resolution of his brother.

Observations.

It has been judged necessary to detail these transactions, in a manner which may, to some readers, appear an impertinent digression from the narrative in which this history is at present engaged, in order to set in a clearer light, some points of the greatest importance. In the first place, from the summary review of the affairs of Scotland, and from the complacency with which James looks back to his own share of them, joined to the general approbation he expressed of the conduct of the government in that kingdom, we may form a pretty just notion, as well of his maxims of policy, as of his temper and disposition, in matters where his bigotry to the Roman Catholic religion had no share. For it is to be observed, and carefully kept in mind, that the church, of which he not only recommends the support, but which he showed himself ready to maintain, by the most violent means, is the Episcopalian church of the Protestants; that the test which he enforced at the point of the bayonet was a Protestant test, so much so indeed, that he himself could not take it; and that the more marked character of the conventicles, the objects of his persecution, was not so much that of heretics excommunicated by the Pope, as of dissenters from the church of England, and irreconcileable enemies to the Protestant Liturgy and the Protestant Episcopacy. But he judged the church of England to be a most fit instrument for rendering the monarchy absolute. On the other hand, the Presbyterians were thought naturally hostile to the principles of passive obedience, and to one or other, or with more probability, to both, of these considerations, joined to the natural violence of his temper, is to be referred the whole of his con-

On the disposition of James.

duct, in this part of his life, which in this view, is rational enough; but on the supposition of his having conceived thus early, the intention of introducing Popery upon the ruins of the church of England, is wholly unaccountable, and no less absurd, than if a general were to put himself to great cost and pains to furnish with ammunition, and to strengthen with fortifications, a place of which he was actually meditating the attack. CHAP. II. 1685.

The next important observation that occurs, and to which even they who are most determined to believe that this Prince had always Popery in view, and held every other consideration as subordinate to that primary object, must nevertheless subscribe, is, that the most confidential advisers, as well as the most furious supporters, of the measures we have related, were not Roman Catholics. Lauderdale and Queensberry were both Protestants. There is no reason, therefore, to impute any of James's violence afterwards to the suggestions of his Catholic advisers, since he who had been engaged in the series of measures above related, with Protestant counsellors and coadjutors, had surely nothing to learn from Papists, (whether priests, Jesuits, or others,) in the science of tyranny. Lastly, from this account we are enabled to form some notion of the state of Scotland, at a time when the parliament of that kingdom was called to set an example for this, and we find it to have been a state of more absolute slavery that at that time subsisted in any part of Christendom. On the primary object of his government. On the state of Scotland.

The affairs of Scotland being in the state which we have described, it is no wonder that the King's letter was received with acclamations of applause, and that the parliament opened, not only with approbation of the government, but even with an enthusiastic zeal, to signalize their loyalty, as well by a perfect acqui- Proceedings of the Scotch Parliament. April 28.

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escence to the King's demands, as by the most fulsome expressions of adulation. "*What Prince in Eu-*" *rope, or in the whole world,*" said the Chancellor Perth, "*was ever like the late King, except his present* "*Majesty, who had undergone every trial of prospe-*" *rity and adversity, and whose unwearied clemency* "*was not among the least conspicuous of his virtues?* "*To advance his honour and greatness, was the duty* "*of all his subjects, and ought to be the endeavour of* "*their lives without reserve.*" The Parliament voted an address, scarcely less adulatory than the Chancellor's speech.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

"Your Majesty's gracious and kind remembrance "of the services done by this, your ancient kingdom, "to the late King your brother, of ever glorious me-"mory, shall rather raise in us ardent desires to ex-"ceed whatever we have done formerly, than make "us consider them as deserving the esteem your Ma-"jesty is pleased to express of them in your Letter "to us, dated the twenty-eighth of March. The "death of that our excellent Monarch is lamented by "us to all the degrees of grief that are consistent "with our great joy for the succession of your Sacred "Majesty, who has not only continued, but secured "the happiness, which his wisdom, his justice, and "clemency procured to us: and having the honour "to be the first Parliament which meets by your "Royal Authority, of which we are very sensible, "your Majesty may be confident, that we will offer "such laws as may best secure your Majesty's sacred "person, the royal family, and government, and be so "exemplary loyal, as to raise your honour and great-"ness to the utmost of our power, which we shall "ever esteem both our duty and interest. Nor shall

" we leave any thing undone for extirpating all fanaticism, but especially those fanatical murtherers and assassins, and for detecting and punishing the late conspirators, whose pernicious and execrable designs did so much tend to subvert your Majesty's government, and ruin us and all your Majesty's faithful subjects. We can assure your Majesty, that the subjects of this your Majesty's ancient kingdom are so desirous to exceed all their predecessors in extraordinary marks of affection and obedience to your Majesty, that (God be praised,) the only way to be popular with us, is to be eminently loyal. Your Majesty's care of us, when you took us to be your special charge, your wisdom in extinguishing the seeds of rebellion and faction amongst us, your justice, which was so great, as to be for ever exemplary, but above all, your Majesty's free and cheerful securing to us our religion, when you were the late King's, your Royal Brother's Commissioner, now again renewed, when you are our Sovereign, are what your subjects here can never forget, and therefore your Majesty may expect that we will think your commands sacred as your person, and that your inclination will prevent our debates; nor did ever any who represented our Monarchs as their Commissioners, (except your royal self,) meet with greater respect, or more exact observance from a Parliament, than the Duke of Queensberry, (whom your Majesty has so wisely chosen to represent you in this, and of whose eminent loyalty, and great abilities in all his former employments, this nation hath seen so many proofs,) shall find from

" May it please your Sacred Majesty,
" your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and
" most obedient subjects and servants,
" PERTH, Cancell."

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Its tyrannical acts.

Nor was this spirit of loyalty, (as it was then called,) of abject slavery, and unmanly subservience to the will of a despot, as it has been justly denominated by the more impartial judgment of posterity, confined to words only. Acts were passed to ratify all the late judgments, however illegal or iniquitous, to indemnify the privy council, judges, and all officers of the Crown, civil or military, for all the violences they had committed; to authorize the privy council to impose the test upon all ranks of people under such penalties as that board might think fit to impose; to extend the punishment of death, which had formerly attached upon the preachers at field conventicles only, to all their auditors, and likewise to the preachers at house conventicles; to subject to the penalties of treason, all persons who should give, or take the covenant, or write in defence thereof, or in any other way own it to be obligatory; and lastly, in a strain of tyranny, for which there was, it is believed, no precedent, and which certainly has never been surpassed, to enact, that all such persons as, being cited in cases of high treason, field or house conventicles, or church irregularites, should refuse to give testimony, should be liable to the punishment due by law to the criminals against whom they refused to be witnesses. It is true that an act was also passed, for confirming all former statutes in favour of the Protestant religion as then established, in their whole strength and tenor, as if they were particularly set down and expressed in the said act; but when we recollect the notions which Queensberry at that time entertained of the King's views, this proceeding forms no exception to the general system of servility which characterized both ministers and parliament. All matters in relation to revenue were of course settled in the manner most agreeable to his Ma-

jesty's wishes, and the recommendation of his Commissioner. CHAP. II. 1685.

Cruelty of Government.

While the legislature was doing its part, the executive government was not behind hand in pursuing the system which had been so much commended. A refusal to abjure the Declaration in the terms prescribed, was every where considered as sufficient cause for immediate execution. In one part of the country, information having been received, that a corpse had been clandestinely buried, an enquiry took place: it was dug up, and found to be that of a person proscribed. Those who had interred him, were suspected not of having murdered, but of having harboured him. For this crime, their house was destroyed; and the women and children of the family being driven out to wander as vagabonds, a young man belonging to it was executed by the order of Johnston of Westerraw. Against this murder even Graham himself is said to have remonstrated, but was content with protesting, that the blood was not upon his head; and not being able to persuade a Highland officer to execute the order of Johnston, ordered his own men to shoot the unhappy victim.* In another county, three females, one of sixty-three years of age, one of eighteen, and one of twelve, were charged with rebellion; and refusing to abjure the Declaration, were sentenced to be drowned. The last was let off, upon condition of her father's giving a bond for a hundred pounds. The elderly woman, who is represented as a person of eminent piety, bore her fate with the greatest constancy, nor does it appear that her death excited any strong sensations in the minds of her savage executioners. The girl of eighteen was more pitied; and after many entreaties, and having been once under

* Woodrow, II. 507.

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water, was prevailed upon to utter some words, which might be fairly construed into blessing the King, a mode of obtaining pardon not unfrequent in cases where the persecutors were inclined to relent. Upon this it was thought she was safe; but the merciless barbarian who superintended this dreadful business, was not satisfied, and upon her refusing the abjuration, she was again plunged into the water, where she expired.* It is to be remarked, that being at Bothwell Bridge and Air's-moss were among the crimes stated in the indictment of all three, though, when the last of these affairs happened, one of the girls was only thirteen, and the other not eight years of age. At the time of the Bothwell Bridge business, they were still younger. To recite all the instances of cruelty which occurred, would be endless; but it may be necessary to remark, that no historical facts are better ascertained than the accounts of them which are to be found in Woodrow. In every instance where there has been an opportunity of comparing these accounts with records, and other authentic monuments, they appear to be quite correct.

English Parliament. May 15.

The Scottish Parliament having thus set, as they had been required to do, an eminent example of what was then thought duty to the Crown, the King met his English Parliament, on the 19th of May, 1685, and opened it with the following speech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"After it pleased Almighty God, to take to his "mercy the late King my dearest brother, and to "bring me to the peaceable possession of the throne "of my ancestors, I immediately resolved to call a "Parliament, as the best means to settle every thing

* Woodrow, II. 506.

" upon those foundations, as may make my reign both " easy and happy to you; towards which, I am dis- " posed to contribute all that is fit for me to do. CHAP. II. 1685.

" What I said to my Privy Council, at my first " coming there, I am desirous to renew to you; where- " in I fully declare my opinion concerning the princi- " ples of the Church of England, whose members have " showed themselves so eminently loyal in the worst " of times, in defence of my father, and support of " my brother, (of blessed memory,) that I will always " take care to defend and support it. I will make it " my endeavour to preserve this government, both in " church and state, as it is by law established: And " as I will never depart from the just rights and pre- " rogatives of the Crown, so I will never invade any " man's property; and you may be sure, that having " heretofore ventured my life in the defence of this " nation, I will still go as far as any man in preserv- " ing it in all its just rights and liberties.

" And having given this assurance concerning the " care I will have of your religion and property, which " I have chose to do, in the same words which I used " at my first coming to the Crown, the better to evi- " dence to you, that I spoke them not by chance, and " consequently, that you may firmly rely upon a pro- " mise so solemnly made; I cannot doubt that I shall " fail of suitable returns from you, with all imaginable " duty and kindness on your part, and particularly to " what relates to the settling of my revenue, and con- " tinuing it, during my life, as it was in the lifetime " of my brother. I might use many arguments to " enforce this demand, for the benefit of trade, the " support of the navy, the necessity of the Crown, and " the well being of the government itself, which I " must not suffer to be precarious. But I am confi- " dent, your own consideration of what is just and

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" reasonable, will suggest to you whatsoever might be " enlarged upon this occasion.

" There is one popular argument, which, I foresee, " may be used against what I ask of you, from the " inclination men have for frequent parliaments: " which some may think would be the best security, " by feeding me from time to time, by such propor- " tions as they shall think convenient: And this ar- " gument, it being the first time I speak to you from " the Throne, I will answer once for all, that this " would be a very improper method to take with me; " and that the best way to engage me to meet you " often, is always to use me well.

" I expect therefore, that you will comply with me " in what I have desired, and that you will do it speedi- " ly; that it may be a short session, and that we may " meet again to all our satisfactions."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I must acquaint you, that I have had news this " morning from Scotland, that Argyle is landed in the " West Highlands, with the men he brought with him " from Holland: That there are two Declarations " published; one in the name of all those in arms, the " other in his own. It would be too long for me to " repeat the substance of them; it is sufficient to tell " you, I am charged with usurpation and tyranny. " The shorter of them I have directed to be forthwith " communicated to you.

" I will take the best care I can, that this declara- " tion of their own faction and rebellion may meet with " the reward it deserves: and I will not doubt but " you will be the more zealous to support the govern- " ment, and give me my revenue as I have desired it, " without delay."

The repetition of the words made use of in his first speech to the privy council, shows, that in the opinion of the Court at least, they had been well chosen, and had answered their purpose; and even the haughty language which was added, and was little less than a menace to parliament, if it should not comply with his wishes, was not, as it appears, unpleasing to the party which at that time prevailed, since the revenue enjoyed by his predecessor, was unanimously, and almost immediately, voted to him for life. It was not remarked, in public at least, that the King's threat of governing without parliament, was an unequivocal manifestation of his contempt of the law of the country, so distinctly established, though so ineffectually secured, by the statute of the 16th of Charles the Second, for holding triennial parliaments. It is said, Lord Keeper Guildford had prepared a different speech for his Majesty, but that this was preferred, as being the King's own words;* and, indeed, that part of it, in which he says that he must answer once for all, that the Commons' giving such proportions as they might think convenient, would be a very improper way with him, bears, as well as some others, the most evident marks of its royal origin. It is to be observed, however, that in arguing for his demand, as he styles it, of revenue, he says, not that the parliament ought not, but that *he* must not suffer the well-being of the government depending upon such revenue, to be precarious; whence it is evident, that he intended to have it understood, that, if the parliament did not grant, he purposed to levy a revenue without their consent. It is impossible that any degree of party spirit should so have blinded men, as to prevent them from perceiving, in this speech, a determination on the part of the

The King's speech examined.

* Life of Lord Keeper North. Ralph.

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King, to conduct his government upon the principles of absolute monarchy, and to those who were not so possessed with the love of royalty, which creates a kind of passionate affection for whoever happens to be the wearer of the Crown, the vindictive manner in which he speaks of Argyle's invasion, might afford sufficient evidence of the temper, in which his power would be administered. In that part of his speech he first betrays his personal feelings towards the unfortunate nobleman, whom, in his brother's reign, he had so cruelly and treacherously oppressed, by dwelling upon his being charged by Argyle with tyranny and usurpation, and then declares, that he will take the best care, not according to the usual phrases, to protect the loyal and well disposed, and to restore tranquillity, but that the Declaration of the factious and rebellious may meet with the reward it deserves; thus marking out revenge and punishment as the consequences of victory, upon which he was most intent.

Proceedings of Parliament.

It is impossible, that in a house of Commons, however composed, there should not have been many members who disapproved the principles of government announced in the speech, and who were justly alarmed at the temper in which it was conceived. But these, overpowered by numbers, and perhaps afraid of the imputation of being concerned in plots and insurrections, (an imputation which, if they had shown any spirit of liberty, would most infallibly have been thrown on them,) declined expressing their sentiments; and, in the short session which followed, there was an almost uninterrupted unanimity in granting every demand, and acquiescing in every wish of the Government. The revenue was granted, without any notice being taken of the illegal manner in which the King had levied it upon his own authority. Argyle was stigmatized as a traitor, nor was any desire

expressed to examine his Declarations, one of which seemed to be purposely withheld from parliament. Upon the communication of the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the West, that nobleman was immediately attainted by Bill. The King's assurance was recognized as a sufficient security for the national religion; and the liberty of the press was destroyed by the revival of the statute of the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second. This last circumstance, important as it is, does not seem to have excited much attention at the time, which, considering the general principles then in fashion, is not surprising. That it should have been scarcely noticed by any historian, is more wonderful. It is true, however, that the terror inspired by the late prosecutions for libels, and the violent conduct of the courts upon such occasions, rendered a formal destruction of the liberty of the press a matter of less importance. So little does the magistracy, when it is inclined to act tyrannically, stand in need of tyrannical laws to effect its purpose. The bare silence and acquiescence of the legislature is, in such a case, fully sufficient to annihilate, practically speaking, every right and liberty of the subject.

Misrepresentation of Mr. Hume's.

As the grant of revenue was unanimous, so there does not appear to have been any thing which can justly be styled a debate upon it: though Hume employs several pages in giving the arguments which, he affirms, were actually made use of, and, as he gives us to understand, in the House of Commons, for and against the question; arguments which, on both sides, seem to imply a considerable love of freedom, and jealousy of royal power, and are not wholly unmixed even with some sentiments disrespectful to the King. Now I cannot find, either from tradition, or from contemporary writers, any ground to think, that, either the reasons which Hume has adduced, or indeed any

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Mr. Seymour's the only speech in opposition.

other, were urged in opposition to the grant. The only speech made upon the occasion, seems to have been that of Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward,) Seymour, who, though of the Tory party, a strenuous opposer of the Exclusion Bill, and in general, supposed to have been an approver, if not an adviser, of the tyrannical measures of the late reign, has the merit of having stood forward singly, to remind the House of what they owed to themselves and their constituents. He did not, however, directly oppose the grant, but stated, that the elections had been carried on under so much court influence, and in other respects so illegally, that it was the duty of the House first to ascertain, who were the legal members, before they proceeded to other business of importance? After having pressed this point, he observed, that, if ever it were necessary to adopt such an order of proceeding, it was more peculiarly so now, when the laws and religion of the nation were in evident peril; that the aversion of the English people to Popery, and their attachment to the laws, were such, as to secure these blessings from destruction by any other instrumentality than that of parliament itself, which, however, might be easily accomplished, if there were once a parliament entirely dependant upon the persons who might harbour such designs; that it was already rumoured that the Test, and Habeas Corpus Acts, the two bulwarks of our religion and liberties, were to be repealed; that what he stated was so notorious as to need no proof. Having descanted with force and ability upon these, and other topics of a similar tendency, he urged his conclusion, that the question of royal revenue ought not to be the first business of the parliament.* Whether, as Burnet

* Barillon's Dispatches, June 2d, and 4th, Appendix. Burnet, II. 322.

thinks, because he was too proud to make any previous communication of his intentions, or that the strain of his argument was judged to be too bold for the times, this speech, whatever secret approbation it might excite, did not receive from any quarter either applause or support. Under those circumstances it was not thought necessary to answer him, and the grant was voted unanimously, without further discussion.

As Barillon, in the relation of parliamentary proceedings, transmitted by him to his Court, in which he appears at this time to have been very exact, gives the same description of Seymour's speech and its effects, with Burnet, there can be little doubt but their account is correct. It will be found as well in this, as in many other instances, that an unfortunate inattention on the part of the reverend historian, to forms, has made his veracity unjustly called in question. He speaks of Seymour's speech as if it had been a motion in the technical sense of the word, for enquiring into the elections, which had no effect. Now no traces remaining of such a motion, and, on the other hand, the elections having been at a subsequent period inquired into, Ralph almost pronounces the whole account to be erroneous; whereas the only mistake consists in giving the name of motion to a suggestion, upon the question of a grant. It is whimsical enough, that it should be from the account of the French ambassador, that we are enabled to reconcile to the records, and to the forms of the English House of Commons, a relation made by a distinguished member of the English House of Lords. Sir John Reresby does indeed say, that among the gentlemen of the House of Commons whom he accidentally met, they in general seemed willing to settle a handsome revenue upon the King, and to give him money; but whether their grant should be permanent, or only

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temporary, and to be renewed from time to time by parliament, that the nation might be often consulted, was the question.* But besides the looseness of the expression, which may only mean that the point was questionable, it is to be observed, that he does not relate any of the arguments which were brought forward, even in the private conversations to which he refers; and when he afterwards gives an account of what passed in the House of Commons, (where he was present,) he does not hint at any debate having taken place, but rather implies the contrary.

This misrepresentation of Mr. Hume's is of no small importance, inasmuch as, by intimating that such a question could be debated at all, and much more, that it was debated with the enlightened views, and bold topics of argument with which his genius has supplied him, he gives us a very false notion of the character of the parliament, and of the times which he is describing. It is not improbable, that if the arguments had been used, which this historian supposes, the utterer of them would have been expelled, or sent to the Tower; and it is certain, that he would not have been heard with any degree of attention, or even patience.

Votes concerning religion.

The unanimous vote for trusting the safety of religion to the King's Declaration, passed not without observation; the rights of the church of England being the only point upon which, at this time, the parliament were in any degree jealous of the royal power. The committee of religion had voted unanimously, "That "it is the opinion of the committee, that this House "will stand by his Majesty with their lives and for-"tunes, according to their bounden duty and allegi-"ance, in defence of the reformed Church of Eng-

* Reresby's Memoirs, 192.

"land, as it is now by law established; and that an "humble address be presented to his Majesty, to "desire him to issue forth his Royal Proclamation, "to cause the penal laws to be put in execution a-"gainst all dissenters from the Church of England "whatsoever." But upon the report of the House, the question of agreeing with the committee was evaded by a previous question, and the House, with equal unanimity resolved, "That this House doth "acquiesce, and entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfi-"ed, on his Majesty's gracious word, and repeated "declaration to support and defend the religion of "the Church of England, as it is now by law estab-"lished, which is dearer to us than our lives." Mr. Echard and Bishop Kennet, two writers of different principles, but both churchmen, assign, as the motive of this vote, the unwillingness of the party then prevalent in parliament, to adopt severe measures against the Protestant dissenters; but in this notion they are by no means supported by the account, imperfect as it is, which Sir John Reresby gives of the debate; for he makes no mention of tenderness towards dissenters, but states, as the chief argument against agreeing with the committee, that it might excite a jealousy of the King;* and Barillon expressly says, that the first vote gave great offence to the King, still more to the Queen, and that orders were, in consequence, issued to the court members of the House of Commons, to devise some means to get rid of it.† Indeed, the general circumstances of the times are decisive against the hypothesis of the two reverend historians; nor is it, as far as I know, adopted by any other historians. The probability seems to

* Echard. Kennet, 441. Reresby, 198.

† Vide Barillon's letter, Appendix.

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be, that the motion in the committee had been originally suggested by some Whig member, who could not, with prudence, speak his real sentiments openly, and who thought to embarrass the government, by touching upon a matter, where the union between the church party and the King, would be put to the severest test. The zeal of the Tories for persecution, made them at first give into the snare; but when, upon reflection, it occurred, that the involving of the Catholics in one common danger with the Protestant dissenters, must be displeasing to the king, they drew back without delay, and passed the most comprehensive vote of confidence, which James could desire.*

Bill for the preservation of the King's person.

Further to manifest their servility to the King, as well as their hostility to every principle, that could by implication be supposed to be connected with Monmouth or his cause, the House of Commons passed a Bill for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, in which, after enacting that a written or verbal declaration of a treasonable intention, should be tantamount to a treasonable act, they inserted two remarkable clauses, by one of which, to assert *the legitimacy of Monmouth's birth*—by the other, *to propose in parliament any alteration in the succession of the crown*, were made likewise high treason. We learn from Burnet,† that the first part of this bill was strenuously

* A most curious instance of the circuitous mode, and deep devices to which the Whigs, if they wished at this time to oppose the court, were obliged to resort, is a scheme which seems to have been seriously entertained by them, of moving to disqualify from office all persons who had voted for the exclusion. Disqualification from offices, which they had no means of obtaining, was to them of no importance, and by obliging the King to remove Godolphin, and more especially Sunderland, they might put the court to considerable difficulties. Vide Appendix.

† Ralph unjustly accuses Burnet of inaccuracy on this occasion, and asserts, "That unfortunately for us, or this Right Reverend

and warmly debated, and that it was chiefly opposed by Serjeant Maynard, whose arguments made some impression even at that time; but whether the Serjeant was supported in his opposition, as the word *chiefly* would lead us to imagine, or if supported, by whom, that historian does not mention; and unfortunately, neither of Maynard's speech itself, nor indeed of any opposition whatever to the bill, is there any other trace to be found. The crying injustice of the clause, which subjected a man to the pains of treason, merely for delivering his opinion upon a controverted fact, though he should do no act in consequence of such opinion, was not, as far as we are informed, objected to, or at all noticed, unless indeed the speech above alluded to, in which the speaker is said to have

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"author, there is not the least trace of any such bill to be found "in any of the accounts of this parliament extant; and therefore "we are under a necessity to suppose, that if any such clause "was offered, it was by way of supplement to the bill for the pre-"servation of his Majesty's person and government, which, no "doubt, was strict enough, and which passed the House of Com-"mons while Monmouth was in arms, just before the adjourn-"ment, but never reached the Lords." II. 911. Now the enactment to which the Bishop alludes, was not, as Ralph supposes, a supplement to the bill for the preservation of his Majesty's person, but made part of the very first clause of it; and the only inaccuracy, if indeed it deserves that name, of which Burnet is guilty, is that of calling the bill what it really was, a bill for Declaring Treasons, and not giving it its formal title of a Bill for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, &c. The bill is fortunately preserved among the papers of the House of Commons, and as it is not, as far as I know, any where in print, I have subjoined it in my Appendix. Perhaps some persons might think it more discreet, to leave such a production in obscurity, lest it should ever be made use of as a precedent; but whoever peruses with attention some of our modern statutes, will perceive, that though not adduced as a precedent, on account, perhaps, of the inauspicious reign in which it made its appearance, it has but too often been used as a model.

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descanted upon the general danger of making words treasonable, be supposed to have been applied to this clause, as well as to the former part of the bill. That the other clause should have passed without opposition, or even observation, must appear still more extraordinary, when we advert, not only to the nature of the clause itself, but to the circumstances of there being actually in the House, no inconsiderable number of members who had, in the former reign, repeatedly voted for the Exclusion Bill.

Solicitude for the Church of England.

It is worthy of notice, however, that, while every principle of criminal jurisprudence, and every regard to the fundamental rights of the deliberative assemblies, which make part of the legislature of the nation, were thus shamelessly sacrificed to the eagerness which, at this disgraceful period, so generally prevailed, of manifesting loyalty, or rather abject servility to the Sovereign, there still remained no small degree of tenderness for the interests and safety of the Church of England, and a sentiment approaching to jealousy upon any matter which might endanger, even by the most remote consequences, or put any restriction upon her ministers. With this view, as one part of the bill did not relate to treasons only, but imposed new penalties upon such as should by writing, printing, preaching, or other speaking, attempt to bring the King or his government into hatred or contempt, there was a special proviso added, "that the asserting, and maintaining by any writing, "printing, preaching, or any other speaking, the doc- "trine, discipline, divine worship, or government of "the Church of England as it now is by law esta- "blished, against Popery or any other different or "dissenting opinions, is not intended, and shall not "be interpreted, or construed to be any offence within

"the words or meaning of this act."* It cannot escape the reader, that only such attacks upon Popery as were made in favour of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and no other, were protected by this proviso, and consequently that, if there were any real occasion for such a guard, all Protestant dissenters who should write or speak against the Roman superstition, were wholly unprotected by it, and remained exposed to the danger, whatever it might be, from which the church was so anxious to exempt her supporters.

The Bill never passed.

This Bill passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the House of Lords on the 30th of June. It was read a first time on that day, but the adjournment of both houses taking place on the 2d of July, it could not make any further progress at that time; and when the parliament met afterwards in autumn, there was no longer that passionate affection for the monarch, nor consequently that ardent zeal for servitude, which were necessary to make a law with such clauses and provisos, palatable or even endurable.

It is not to be considered as an exception to the general complaisance of Parliament, that the Speaker, when he presented the Revenue Bill, made use of some strong expressions, declaring the attachment of the Commons to the national religion.† Such sentiments could not be supposed to be displeasing to James, af-

* Vide Bill for the Preservation, &c. Appendix.

† "The Commons of England have here presented your Majesty with the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, will all readiness and cheerfulness; and that without any security for their religion, though it be dearer to them than their lives, relying wholly on your royal word for the security of it; and humbly beseech your Majesty to accept this their offer," &c. Kennet, II. 427.

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ter the assurances he had given of his regard for the church of England. Upon this occasion his Majesty made the following speech:

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

Speech on passing the Revenue Bill.

" I thank you very heartily for the bill you have " presented me this day; and I assure you, the rea- " diness and cheerfulness that has attended the dis- " patch of it, is as acceptable to me as the bill itself.

" After so happy a beginning, you may believe I " would not call upon you unnecessarily for an extra- " ordinary supply: but when I tell you, that the " stores of the navy and ordnance are extremely ex- " hausted; that the anticipations upon several branches " of the revenue are great and burthensome; that the " debts of the King my brother, to his servants and " family, are such as deserve compassion; that the " rebellion in Scotland, without putting more weight " upon it than it really deserves, must oblige me to a " considerable expense extraordinary; I am sure, such " considerations will move you to give me an aid to " provide for those things, wherein the security, the " ease, and the happiness of my government are so " much concerned. But above all, I must recom- " mend to you the care of the Navy, the strength and " glory of this nation; that you will put it into such a " condition, as may make us considered and respected " abroad. I cannot express my concern, upon this " occasion, more suitable to my own thoughts of it, " than by assuring you, I have a true English heart, " as jealous of the honour of the nation as you can be; " and I please myself with the hopes, that, by God's " blessing, and your assistance, I may carry the repu- " tation of it yet higher in the world, than ever it has " been in the time of any of my ancestors; and as I " will not call upon you for supplies, but when they

" are of public use and advantage; so I promise you, " that what you give me upon such occasions, shall be " managed with good husbandry, and I will take care, " it shall be employed to the uses for which I ask " them." CHAP. II. 1685.

Misrepresented by historians.

Rapin, Hume, and Ralph observe upon this speech, that neither the generosity of the Commons' grant, nor the confidence they expressed upon religious matters, could extort a kind word in favour of their religion. But this observation, whether meant as a reproach to him for his want of gracious feeling to a generous Parliament, or as an oblique compliment to his sincerity, has no force in it. His Majesty's speech was spoken immediately upon passing the bills which the Speaker presented, and he could not therefore take notice of the Speaker's words, unless he had spoken extempore; for the custom is not, nor I believe ever was, for the Speaker to give, beforehand, copies of addresses of this nature. James would not certainly have scrupled to repeat the assurances which he had so lately made in favour of the Protestant religion, as he did not scruple to talk of his true English heart, honour of the nation, &c. at a time when he was engaged with France; but the speech was prepared for an answer to a money bill, not for a question of the Protestant religion and church, and the false professions in it are adapted to what was supposed to be the only subject of it.

Reversal of Stafford's attainder rejected.

The only matter in which the King's views were in any degree thwarted, was the reversal of Lord Stafford's attainder, which, having passed the House of Lords, not without opposition, was lost in the House of Commons; a strong proof that the Popish plot was still the subject upon which the opposers of the Court had most credit with the public. Mr. Hume, notwithstanding his just indignation at the condemnation

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of Stafford, and his general inclination to approve of royal politics, most unaccountably justifies the Commons in their rejection of this bill, upon the principle of its being impolitic at that time to grant so full a justification of the Catholics, and to throw so foul an imputation upon the Protestants. Surely if there be one moral duty that is binding upon men in all times, places, and circumstances, and from which no supposed views of policy can excuse them, it is that of granting a full justification to the innocent; and such Mr. Hume considers the Catholics, and especially Lord Stafford, to have been. The only rational way of accounting for this solitary instance of non-compliance on the part of the Commons, is either to suppose that they still believed in the reality of the Popish plot, and Stafford's guilt, or that the church party, which was uppermost, had such an antipathy to Popery, as indeed to every sect, whose tenets differed from theirs, that they deemed every thing lawful against its professors.

Parliament adjourned.

On the 2d of July, parliament was adjourned for the purpose of enabling the principal gentlemen to be present in their respective counties, at a time when their services and influence might be so necessary to government. It is said that the House of Commons consisted of members so devoted to James, that he declared there was not forty in it, whom he would not himself have named. But although this may have been true, and though from the new-modelling of the corporations, and the interference of the court in elections, this Parliament, as far as regards the manner of its being chosen, was by no means a fair representative of the legal electors of England, yet there is reason to think that it afforded a tolerably correct sample of the disposition of the nation, and especially of the church party, which was then uppermost.

The general character of the party at this time appears to have been a high notion of the King's constitutional power, to which was superadded, a kind of religious abhorrence of all resistance to the Monarch, not only in cases where such resistance was directed against the lawful prerogative, but even in opposition to encroachments, which the Monarch might make beyond the extended limits which they assigned to his prerogative. But these tenets, and still more, the principle of conduct naturally resulting from them, were confined to the civil, as contradistinguished from the ecclesiastical, polity of the country. In church matters, they neither acknowledged any very high authority in the Crown, nor were they willing to submit to any royal encroachment on that side; and a steady attachment to the Church of England, with a proportionable aversion to all dissenters from it, whether Catholic or Protestant, was almost universally prevalent among them. A due consideration of these distinct features in the character of a party so powerful in Charles's and James's time, and even when it was lowest, (that is, during the reigns of the two first Princes of the House of Brunswick,) by no means inconsiderable, is exceedingly necessary to the right understanding of English History. It affords a clue to many passages otherwise unintelligible. For want of a proper attention to this circumstance, some historians have considered the conduct of the Tories in promoting the Revolution, as an instance of great inconsistency. Some have supposed, contrary to the clearest evidence, that their notions of passive obedience, even in civil matters, were limited, and that their support of the government of Charles and James, was founded upon a belief, that those Princes would never abuse their prerogative for the purpose of introducing arbitrary sway. But this hypothesis is contrary to the

Character of the church party.

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evidence both of their declaration and their conduct. Obedience without reserve, an abhorrence of all resistance, as contrary to the tenets of their religion, are the principles which they professed in their addresses, their sermons, and their decrees at Oxford; and surely nothing short of such principles, could make men esteem the latter years of Charles the Second, and the opening of the reign of his successor, an æra of national happiness, and exemplary government. Yet this is the representation of that period, which is usually made by historians, and other writers of the church party. "Never were fairer promises on one "side, nor greater generosity on the other," says Mr. Echard. "The King had as yet, in no instance, in- "vaded the rights of his subjects," says the author of the Caveat against the Whigs. Thus, as long as James contented himself with absolute power in civil matters, and did not make use of his authority against the church, every thing went smooth and easy; nor is it necessary, in order to account for the satisfaction of the parliament and people, to have recourse to any implied compromise, by which the nation was willing to yield its civil liberties as the price of retaining its religious constitution. The truth seems to be, that the King, in asserting his unlimited power, rather fell in with the humour of the prevailing party, than offered any violence to it. Absolute power in civil matters, under the specious names of monarchy and prerogative, formed a most essential part of the Tory creed; but the order in which Church and King are placed in the favourite device of the party, is not accidental, and is well calculated to show the genuine principles of such among them as are not corrupted by influence. Accordingly, as the sequel of this reign will abundantly show, when they found themselves compelled to make an option, they preferred, without any degree

of inconsistency, their first idol to their second, and when they could not preserve both church and King, declared for the former. CHAP. II. 1685.

It gives certainly no very flattering picture of the country, to describe it as being in some sense fairly represented by this servile Parliament, and not only acquiescing in, but delighted with, the early measures of James's reign; the contempt of law exhibited in the arbitrary mode of raising his revenue; his insulting menace to the Parliament, that if they did not use him well, he would govern without them; his furious persecution of the Protestant dissenters, and the spirit of despotism which appeared in all his speeches and actions. But it is to be remembered, that these measures were in no wise contrary to the principles or prejudices of the church party, but rather highly agreeable to them; and that the Whigs, who alone were possessed of any just notions of liberty, were so out-numbered, and discomfited by persecution, that such of them as did not think fit to engage in the rash schemes of Monmouth or Argyle, held it to be their interest to interfere as little as possible in public affairs, and by no means to obtrude upon unwilling hearers, opinions and sentiments, which, ever since the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in 1681, had been generally discountenanced, and of which the peaceable, or rather triumphant accession of James to the throne, was supposed to seal the condemnation. Situation of the Whigs.

CHAPTER III.

"Attempts of Argyle and Monmouth.....Account of their follow-
"ers.....Argyle's Expedition discovered.....His descent in Ar-
"gyleshire.....Dissensions among his followers.....Loss of his
"shipping.....His army dispersed, and himself taken prisoner....
"His behaviour in prison.....His execution.....The fate of his fol-
"lowers....Rumbold's late declaration examined....Monmouth's
"Invasion of England.....His first success and reception.....His
"delays, disappointment and despondency.....Battle of Sedge-
"more.....He is discovered and taken.....His Letter to the King.....
"His interview with James.....His preparations for death.....Cir-
"cumstances attending his execution.....His Character."

CHAP. III.

1685.

Earl of Argyle.

IT is now necessary to give some account of those attempts in Scotland by the Earl of Argyle, and in England by the Duke of Monmouth, of which the King had informed his Parliament in the manner recited in the preceding Chapter. The Earl of Argyle was son to the Marquis of Argyle, of whose unjust execution, and the treacherous circumstances accompanying it, notice has already been taken. He had, in his youth, been strongly attached to the royal cause, and had refused to lay down his arms, till he had the exiled King's positive orders for that purpose. But the merit of his early services could neither save the life of his father, nor even procure for himself a complete restitution of his family honours and estates; and not long after the restoration, upon an accusation of Leasing-Making, an accusation founded, in this instance, upon a private letter to a fellow-subject, in which he spoke with some freedom of his Majesty's Scottish ministry, he was condemned to death. The sentence was suspended, and finally remitted; but not till after an imprisonment of twelve months and upwards. In this affair he was much assisted by

the friendship of the Duke of Lauderdale, with whom he ever afterwards lived upon terms of friendship, though his principles would not permit him to give active assistance to that nobleman in his government of Scotland. Accordingly, we do not during that period, find Argyle's name among those who held any of those great employments of state, to which, by his rank and consequence, he was naturally entitled. When James, then Duke of York, was appointed to the Scotch government, it seems to have been the Earl's intention to cultivate his Royal Highness' favour, and he was a strenuous supporter of the Bill which condemned all attempts at exclusions, or other alterations in the succession of the crown. But having highly offended that Prince, by insisting on the occasion of the Test, that the royal family, when in office, should not be exempted from taking that oath which they imposed upon subjects in like situations; his Royal Highness ordered a prosecution against him, for the explanation with which he had taken the Test oath at the council board, and the Earl was, as we have seen, again condemned to death. From the time of his escape from prison, he resided wholly in foreign countries, and was looked to as a principal ally by such of the English patriots as had at any time entertained thoughts, whether more or less ripened, of delivering their country.

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James Duke of Monmouth was the eldest of the late King's natural children. In the early part of his life, he held the first place in his father's affections; and even in the height of Charles's displeasure at his political conduct, attentive observers thought they could discern, that the traces of paternal tenderness were by no means effaced. Appearing at Court in the bloom of youth, with a beautiful figure, and engaging manners, known to be the darling of the Monarch, it

Duke of Monmouth.

His character,

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is no wonder that he was early assailed by the arts of flattery: and it is rather a proof that he had not the strongest of all minds, than of any extraordinary weakness of character, that he was not proof against them. He had appeared with some distinction in the Flemish campaigns; and his conduct had been noticed with the approbation of the commanders, as well Dutch as French, under whom he had respectively served. His courage was allowed by all, his person admired, his generosity loved, his sincerity confided in. If his talents were not of the first rate, they were, by no means contemptible; and he possessed in an eminent degree, qualities which, in popular government, are far more effective than the most splendid talents; qualities by which he inspired those who followed him, not only with confidence and esteem, but with affection, enthusiasm, and even fondness. Thus endowed, it is not surprising that his youthful mind was fired with ambition, or that he should consider the putting of himself at the head of a party, (a situation for which he seems to have been peculiarly qualified by so many advantages,) as the means by which he was most likely to attain his object.

and ambition,

His private motives.

Many circumstances contributed to outweigh the scruples which must have harrassed a man of his excellent nature, when he considered the obligations of filial duty and gratitude, and when he reflected, that the particular relation in which he stood to the King rendered a conduct, which in any other subject would have been meritorious, doubtful, if not extremely culpable in him. Among these, not the least was the declared enmity which subsisted between him and his uncle, the Duke of York. The Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire, boasted in his Memoirs, that this enmity was originally owing to his contrivances; and while he is relating a conduct, upon

which the only doubt can be, whether the object or the means were the most infamous, seems to applaud himself, as if he had atchieved some notable exploit. While, on the one hand, a prospect of his uncle's succession to the crown was intolerable to him, as involving in it a certain destruction of even the most reasonable and limited views of ambition which he might entertain, he was easily led to believe on the other hand, that no harm, but the reverse, was intended towards his royal father, whose reign and life might become precarious, if he obstinately persevered in supporting his brother; whereas, on the contrary, if he could be persuaded, or even forced, to yield to the wishes of his subjects, he might long reign a powerful, happy, and popular Prince.

Political motives of his conduct.

It is also reasonable to believe, that with those personal and private motives, others might co-operate of a public nature, and of a more noble character. The Protestant religion, to which he seems to have been sincerely attached, would be persecuted, or perhaps, exterminated, if the King should be successful in his support of the Duke of York, and his faction. At least, such was the opinion generally prevalent, while, with respect to the civil liberties of the country, no doubt could be entertained, that if the Court party prevailed in the struggle then depending, they would be completely extinguished. Something may be attributed to his admiration of the talents of some, to his personal friendship for others, among the leaders of the Whigs, more to the aptitude of a generous nature to adopt, and, if I may so say, to become enamoured of, those principles of justice, benevolence, and equality, which form the true creed of the party which he espoused. I am not inclined to believe that it was his connection with Shaftesbury that inspired him with ambitious views, but rather to reverse cause

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of York should go to Scotland,* between which, and his being sent abroad again, Monmouth and his friends saw no material difference. Now in Barillon's letters to his Court, dated the 7th of December, 1684, it appeared that the Duke of York had told that ambassador of his intended voyage to Scotland, though he represented it in a very different point of view, and said that it would not be attended with any diminution of his favour or credit.† This was the light in which Charles, to whom the expressions, "to blind "my brother, not to make the Duke of York fly out," and the like, were familiar, would certainly have shown the affair to his brother, and therefore of all the circumstances adduced, this appears to me to be the strongest in favour of the supposition, that there was in the King's mind, a real intention of making an important, if not a complete, change in his councils and measures.

Exiles from Scotland.

Besides these two leaders, there were on the Continent at that time, several other gentlemen of great consideration. Sir Patrick Hume of Polworth had early distinguished himself in the cause of liberty. When the privy council of Scotland passed an order, compelling the counties to pay the expense of the garrisons arbitrarily placed in them, he refused to pay his quota, and by a mode of appeal to the Court of Session, which the Scotch lawyers call a bill of Suspension, endeavoured to procure redress. The council ordered him to be imprisoned, for no other crime, as it should seem, than that of having thus attempted to procure, by a legal process, a legal decision upon a point of law. After having remained in close confinement in Stirling Castle, for nearly four years, he was set at liberty through the favour and interest of

* Welwood's Memoirs. † See Appendix.

Monmouth. Having afterwards engaged in schemes connected with those imputed to Sidney and Russel, orders were issued for seizing him at his house in Berwickshire; but having had timely notice of his danger, from his relation, Hume of Ninewells, a gentlemen attached to the royal cause,* but whom party spirit had not rendered insensible to the ties of kindred, and private friendship, he found means to conceal himself for a time, and shortly after to escape beyond sea. His concealment is said to have been in the family burial-place, where the means of sustaining life were brought to him by his daughter, a girl of fifteen years of age, whose duty and affection furnished her with courage to brave the terrors, as well superstitious as real, to which she was necessarily exposed in an intercourse of this nature.† CHAP. III. 1685.

Andrew Fletcher of Salton, a young man of great spirit, had signalized himself in opposition to Lauderdale's administration of Scotland, and had afterwards connected himself with Argyle and Russel, and what was called the council of six. He had, of course, thought it prudent to leave Great Britain, and could not be supposed unwilling to join in any enterprize which might bid fair to restore him to his country, and his countrymen to their lost liberties, though, upon the present occasion, which he seems to have judged to be unfit for the purpose, he endeavoured to dissuade both Argyle and Monmouth from their attempts. He was a man of much thought and reading, of an honourable mind, and a fiery spirit, and from his enthusiastic admiration of the ancients, supposed to be Fletcher of Salton.

* It is not without some satisfaction, that I learnt, upon enquiry, that this gentleman was the ancestor of Hume the historian, who, in similar circumstances, would most certainly have followed his grandfather's example.

† MS. account of Sir P. Home.

CHAP. III. warmly attached, not only to republican principles, but
1685. to the form of a commonwealth. Sir John Cochrane
Sir John Cochrane. of Ochiltree had fled his country on account of the transactions of 1683. His property and connections were considerable, and he was supposed to possess extensive influence in Airshire and the adjacent counties.

English exiles. Such were the persons of chief note among the Scottish emigrants. Among the English, by far the
Lord Grey of Wark. most remarkable, was Ford, Lord Grey of Wark. A scandalous love intrigue, with his wife's sister, had fixed a very deep stain upon his private character; nor were the circumstances attending this affair, which had all been brought to light in a court of justice, by any means calculated to extenuate his guilt. His ancient family, however, the extensive influence arising from his large possessions, his talents, which appear to have been very considerable, and above all, his hitherto unshaken fidelity in political attachments, and the general steadiness of his conduct in public life, might in some degree countervail the odium which he had incurred on account of his private vices. Of Matthews, Wade, and Ayloffe, whose names are mentioned, as having both joined the preliminary councils, and done actual service in the invasions, little is known by which curiosity could be either gratified or excited.

Rumbold. Richard Rumbold, on every account, merits more particular notice. He had formerly served in the republican armies; and adhering to the principles of liberty, which he had imbibed in his youth, though no wise bigotted to the particular form of a commonwealth, had been deeply engaged in the politics of those who thought they saw an opportunity of rescuing their country from the tyrannical government of the late King. He was one of the persons denounced in Keyling's narrative, and was accused of having con-

spired to assassinate the royal brothers, in their road to Newmarket; an accusation belied by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, and which, if it had been true, would have proved him, who was never thought a weak or foolish man, to be as destitute of common sense, as of honour and probity. It was pretended, that the seizure of the Princes was to take place at a farm called Rye-house, which he occupied in Hertfordshire for the purposes of his trade as a maltster; and from this circumstance, was derived the name of the Rye-house Plot. Conscious of having done some acts, which the law, if even fairly interpreted, and equitably administered, might deem criminal, and certain that many which he had not done, would be both sworn, and believed against him, he made his escape, and passed the remainder of Charles's reign in exile and obscurity; nor is his name, as far as I can learn, ever mentioned, from the time of the Rye-house plot to that of which we are now treating. CHAP. III. 1685.

It is not to be understood that there were no other names upon the list of those who fled from the tyranny of the British government, or thought themselves unsafe in their native country, on account of its violence, besides those of the persons above mentioned, and of such as joined in their bold and hazardous enterprize. Another class of emigrants, not less sensible probably to the wrongs of their country, but less sanguine in their hopes of immediate redress, is ennobled by the names of Burnet the historian, and Mr. Locke. It is difficult to accede to the opinion, which the first of these seems to entertain, that though particular injustices had been committed, the misgovernment had not been of such a nature as to justify resistance by arms.* But the prudential reasons against Other exiles. Burnet's opinion.

* Burnet, II. 309.

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resistance at that time were exceedingly strong; and there is no point in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue, and worldly prudence, are so identified, as in this great question of resistance by force to established government. Success, it has been invidiously remarked, constitutes, in most instances, the sole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of success, it may be truly said, distinguishes the well considered enterprize of the patriot, from the rash schemes of the disturber of the public peace. To command success, is not in the power of man; but to deserve success, by choosing a proper time, as well as a proper object, by the prudence of his means, no less than by the purity of his views, by a cause not only intrinsically just, but likely to ensure general support, is the indispensible duty of him, who engages in an insurrection against an existing government. Upon this subject, the opinion of Ludlow, who though often misled, appears to have been an honest and enlightened man, is striking and forcibly expressed. "We ought," says he, "to be very careful "and circumspect in that particular, and at least be "assured of very probable grounds, to believe the "power under which we engage, to be sufficiently able "to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise, I should "account myself not only guilty of my own blood, "but also, in some measure, of the ruin and destruc-"tion of all those that I should induce to engage with "me, though the cause were never so just."* Reasons of this nature, mixed more or less with considerations of personal caution, and in some, perhaps, with dislike and distrust of their leaders, induced many, who could not but abhor the British government, to wait for better opportunities, and to prefer either submission at

Observations on resistance.

Ludlow's opinion on resistance.

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 235.

home, or exile, to an undertaking, which if not hopeless, must have been deemed by all, hazardous in the extreme. CHAP. III. 1685

In the situations in which these two nobleman, Argyle and Monmouth, were placed, it is not to be wondered at, if they were naturally willing to enter into any plan, by which they might restore themselves to their country; nor can it be doubted, but they honestly conceived their success to be intimately connected with the welfare, and especially with the liberty, of the several kingdoms to which they respectively belonged. Monmouth, whether because he had begun at this time, as he himself said, to wean his mind from ambition,* or from the observations he had made upon the apparently rapid turn which had taken place in the minds of the English people, seems to have been very averse to rash councils, and to have thought that all attempts against James ought at least to be deferred till some more favorable opportunity should present itself. So far from esteeming his chance of success the better, on account of there being, in James's parliament, many members who had voted for the Exclusion Bill, he considered that circumstance as unfavorable. These men, of whom however he seems to have over-rated the number, would, in his opinion, be more eager than others, to recover the ground they had lost by an extraordinary show of zeal and attachment to the Crown. But if Monmouth was inclined to dilatory councils, far different were the views and designs of other exiles, who had been obliged to leave their country on account of their having engaged, if not with him personally, at least in the same cause with him, and who were naturally enough his advisers. Among these

Monmouth's reluctance to attempt an invasion.

* Vide his letter in Wellwood's Memoirs, and in Ralph, I. 953.

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were Lord Grey of Wark and Ferguson; though the latter afterwards denied his having had much intercourse with the Duke, and the former, in his narrative,* insinuates that he rather dissuaded than pressed the invasion.

Impatience of Argyle.

But if Monmouth was inclined to delay, Argyle seems, on the other hand, to have been impatient in the extreme to bring matters to a crisis, and was, of course, anxious that the attempt upon England should be made in co-operation with his upon Scotland. Ralph, an historian of great acuteness, as well as diligence, but who falls sometimes into the common error of judging too much from the event, seems to think this impatience wholly unaccountable; but Argyle may have had many motives, which are now unknown to us. He may not improbably have foreseen, that the friendly terms upon which James and the Prince of Orange affected at least to be, one with the other, might make his stay in the United Provinces impracticable, and that, if obliged to seek another asylum, not only he might have been deprived, in some measure, of the resources which he derived from his connections at Amsterdam, but that the very circumstance of his having been publicly discountenanced by the Prince of Orange and the States General, might discredit his enterprize. His eagerness for action may possibly have proceeded from the most laudable motives, his sensibility to the horrors which his countrymen were daily and hourly suffering, and his ardor to relieve them. The dreadful state of Scotland,

* It is however notorious that he did press Monmouth very much; and this circumstance, if any were wanting, would sufficiently prove that his Narrative is very little to be relied upon, in any point where he conceived the falsification of a fact might serve him with the King, upon whose mercy his life at that time depended.

while it affords so honourable an explanation of his impatience, seems to account also, in a great measure, for his acting against the common notions of prudence, in making his attack without any previous concert with those whom he expected to join him there. That this was his view of the matter is plain, as we are informed by Burnet that he depended not only on an army of his own clan and vassals, but that he took it for granted, that the western and southern counties would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country; and surely, such an expectation, when we reflect upon the situation of those counties, was by no means unreasonable.

Preparations and plan of invasion.

Argyle's counsel, backed by Lord Grey and the rest of Monmouth's advisers, and opposed by none except Fletcher of Salton, to whom some add Captain Matthews, prevailed, and it was agreed to invade immediately, and at one time, the two kingdoms. Monmouth had raised some money from his jewels, and Argyle had a loan of ten thousand pounds from a rich widow in Amsterdam. With these resources, such as they were, ships and arms were provided, and Argyle sailed from Vly on the second of May, with three small vessels, accompanied by Sir Patrick Hume, Sir John Cochrane, and a few more Scotch gentlemen, and by two Englishmen, Ayloffe, a nephew by marriage to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and Rumbold the maltster, who had been accused of being principally concerned in that conspiracy which, from his farm in Hertfordshire, where it was pretended Charles the Second was to have been intercepted in his way from Newmarket, and assassinated, had been called the Rye-house plot.* Sir Patrick Hume is

Argyle's expedition. May 2.

* The detailed account of the exiles from England and Scotland, from page 120 to 123, was inserted in the work by Mr.

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said to have advised the shortest passage, in order to come more unexpectedly upon the enemy; but Argyle, who is represented as remarkably tenacious of his own opinions, persisted in his plan of sailing round the north of Scotland, as well for the purpose of landing at once among his own vassals, as for that of being nearer to the western counties, which had been most severely oppressed, and from which, of course, he expected most assistance. Each of these plans had no doubt its peculiar advantages; but, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, those belonging to the Earl's scheme seem to preponderate; for the force he carried with him was certainly not sufficient to enable him, by striking any decisive stroke, to avail himself even of the most unprepared state in which he could hope to find the King's government. As he must therefore depend entirely upon reinforcements from the country, it seemed reasonable to make for that part where succour was most likely to be obtained, even at the hazard of incurring the disadvantage which must evidently result from the enemy's having early notice of his attack, and consequently proportionable time for defence.

Discovered by his landing in the Orkneys.

Unfortunately, this hazard was converted into a certainty, by his sending some men on shore in the Orkneys. Two of these, Spence and Blackadder, were seized at Kirkwall by the bishop of the diocese, and sent up prisoners to Edinburgh, by which means the government was not only satisfied of the reality of the intended invasion, of which, however, they had before had some intimation,* but could guess

Fox, after this passage was written.—As it is there introduced, Mr. Fox would, no doubt, have erased the repetition of it; but it has been the object of the Editor to preserve scrupulously the words of the MSS. E.

* Vide Appendix. Burnet. II. 313. Woodrow, II. 513.

with a reasonable certainty, the part of the coast where the descent was to take place; for Argyle could not possibly have sailed so far to the north with any other view, than of making his landing either on his own estate, or in some of the western counties. Among the numberless charges of imprudence against the unfortunate Argyle, charges too often inconsiderately urged against him who fails in any enterprize of moment, that which is founded upon the circumstance just mentioned appears to me to be the most weighty, though it is that which is the least mentioned, and by no author, as far as I recollect, much enforced. If the landing in the north was merely for the purpose of gaining intelligence respecting the disposition of the country, or for the more frivolous object of making some few prisoners, it was indeed imprudent in the highest degree. That prisoners, such as were likely to be taken on this occasion, should have been a consideration with any man of common sense, is impossible. The desire of gaining intelligence concerning the disposition of the people, was indeed a natural curiosity; but it would be a strong instance of that impatience which has been often alleged, though in no other case proved, to have been part of the Earl's character, if, for the sake of gratifying such a desire, he gave the enemy any important advantage. Of the intelligence which he sought thus eagerly, it was evident that he could not, in that place, and at that time, make any immediate use; whereas, of that which he afforded his enemies, they could, and did avail themselves against him. The most favourable account of this proceeding, and which seems to deserve most credit, is, that having missed the proper passage through the Orkney islands, he thought proper to send on shore for pilots, and that Spence very imprudently took the opportunity of

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going to confer with a relation at Kirkwall;* but it is to be remarked, that it was not necessary, for the purpose of getting pilots, to employ men of note, such as Blackadder and Spence, the latter of whom was the Earl's Secretary; and that it was an unpardonable neglect not to give the strictest injunctions to those who were employed, against going a step further into the country than was absolutely necessary.

His descent on Argyleshire.

Argyle, with his wonted generosity of spirit, was at first determined to lay siege to Kirkwall, in order to recover his friends; but partly by the dissuasions of his followers, and still more by the objections made by the masters of the ships, to a delay which might make them lose the favourable winds for their intended voyage, he was induced to prosecute his course.† In the mean time the government made the use that it was obvious they would make, of the information they had obtained, and when the Earl arrived at his destination, he learned that considerable forces were got together to repel any attack that he might meditate. Being prevented by contrary winds from reaching the isle of Ilay, where he had proposed to make his first landing, he sailed back to Dunstafnage in Lorn, and there sent ashore his son, Mr. Charles Campbell, to engage his tenants, and other friends, and dependants of his family, to rise in his behalf; but even there he found less encouragement and assistance than he had expected, and the Laird of Lochniel, who gave him the best assurances, treacherously betrayed him, sent his letter to the Government, and joined the royal forces under the Marquis of Athol. He then proceeded southwards, and landed at Campbelltown in Kintyre, where his first step was to publish his Declaration, which appears to have produced little or no effect.

* Woodrow, II. 513. † Woodrow, II. 531.

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This bad beginning served, as is usual in such adventures, rather to widen than to reconcile the differences which had early begun to manifest themselves between the leader and his followers. Hume and Cochrane, partly construing perhaps too sanguinely the intelligence which was received from Ayrshire, Galloway, and the other lowland districts in that quarter, partly from an expectation that where the oppression had been most grievous, the revolt would be proportionably the more general, were against any stay, or, as they termed it, loss of time in the Highlands, but were for proceeding at once, weak as they were in point of numbers, to a country where every man endowed with the common feelings of human nature, must be their well-wisher, every man of spirit their coadjutor. Argyle, on the contrary, who probably considered the discouraging accounts from the Lowlands as positive and distinct, while those which were deemed more favourable, appeared to him to be at least uncertain and provisional, thought the most prudent plan was, to strengthen himself in his own country, before he attempted the invasion of provinces where the enemy was so well prepared to receive him. He had hopes of gaining time, not only to increase his own army, but to avail himself of the Duke of Monmouth's intended invasion of England, an event which must obviously have great influence upon his affairs, and which, if he could but maintain himself in a situation to profit by it, might be productive of advantages of an importance and extent of which no man could presume to calculate the limits. Of these two contrary opinions, it may be difficult at this time of day to appreciate the value, seeing that so much depends upon the degree of credit due to the different accounts from the lowland counties, of which our imperfect information does not enable us to form any

Difference of opinion.

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accurate judgment. But even though we should not decide absolutely in favour of the cogency of these reasonings which influenced the chief, it must surely be admitted, that there was at least sufficient probability in them, to account for his not immediately giving way to those of his followers, and to rescue his memory from the reproach of any uncommon obstinacy, or of carrying things, as Burnet phrases it, with an air of authority that was not easy to men who were setting up for liberty. On the other hand, it may be more difficult to exculpate the gentlemen engaged with Argyle, for not acquiescing more cheerfully, and not entering more cordially into the views of a man whom they had chosen for their leader and general; of whose honour they had no doubt, and whose opinion, even those who dissented from him, must confess to be formed upon no light or trivial grounds.

Dissensions with his followers.

The differences upon the general scheme of attack, led, of course, to others upon points of detail. Upon every projected expedition there appeared a contrariety of sentiment, which on some occasions produced the most violent disputes. The Earl was often thwarted in his plans, and in one instance actually over-ruled by the vote of a council of war. Nor were these divisions, which might of themselves be deemed sufficient to mar an enterprise of this nature, the only adverse circumstances which Argyle had to encounter. By the forward state of preparation on the part of the Government, its friends were emboldened; its enemies, whose spirit had been already broken by a long series of sufferings, were completely intimidated, and men of fickle and time-serving dispositions, were fixed in its interests. Add to all this, that where spirit was not wanting, it was accompanied with a degree and species of perversity wholly inexplicable, and which can hardly gain belief from any one, whose experi-

ence has not made him acquainted with the extreme difficulty of persuading men, who pride themselves upon an extravagant love of liberty, rather to compromise upon some points with those who have, in the main, the same views with themselves, than to give power, (a power which will infallibly be used for their own destruction,) to an adversary of principles diametrically opposite; in other words, rather to concede something to a friend, than every thing to an enemy. Hence, those even, whose situation was the most desperate, who were either wandering about the fields, or seeking refuge in rocks and caverns, from the authorized assassins who were on every side pursuing them, did not all join in Argyle's cause with that frankness and cordiality which was to be expected. The various schisms which had existed among different classes of Presbyterians, were still fresh in their memory. Not even the persecution to which they had been in common, and almost indiscriminately subjected, had reunited them. According to a most expressive phrase of an eminent minister of their church, who sincerely lamented their disunion. The furnace had not yet healed the rents and breaches among them.* Some doubted whether, short of establishing all the doctrines preached by Cargill and Cameron there was any thing worth contending for; while others, still further gone in enthusiasm, set no value upon liberty, or even life itself, if they were to be preserved by the means of a nobleman, who had, as well by his services to Charles the Second, as by other instances, been guilty, in the former parts of his conduct, of what they termed unlawful compliances.

His plan over-ruled.

Perplexed, no doubt, but not dismayed, by these difficulties, the Earl proceeded to Tarbet, which he

* Woodrow, II. 530.

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had fixed as the place of rendezvous, and there issued a second Declaration, (that which has been mentioned as having been laid before the House of Commons,) with as little effect as the first. He was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell, who alone of all his kinsmen, seems to have afforded him any material assistance, and who brought with him nearly a thousand men; but even with this important reinforcement his whole army does not appear to have exceeded two thousand. It was here that he was over-ruled by a council of war, when he proposed marching to Inverary; and after much debate, so far was he from being so self-willed as he is represented, that he consented to go over with his army to that part of Argyleshire called Cowal, and that Sir John Cochrane should make an attempt upon the Lowlands; and he sent with him Major Fullerton, one of the officers in whom he trusted, and who appears to have best deserved his confidence. This expedition could not land in Airshire, where it had at first been intended, owing to the appearance of two king's frigates, which had been sent into those seas; and when it did land near Greenoch, no other advantage was derived from it, than the procuring from the town a very small supply of provisions.*

Loss of his shipping.

When Cochrane, with his detachment, returned to Cowal, all hopes of success in the Lowlands seemed, for the present at least, to be at an end, and Argyle's original plan was now necessarily adopted, though under circumstances greatly disadvantageous. Among these the most important was, the approach of the frigates, which obliged the Earl to place his ships under the protection of the castle of Ellengreg, which he fortified and garrisoned, as well as his contracted means would permit. Yet even in this situation, de-

* Woodrow.

prived of the co-operation of his little fleet, as well as of that part of his force which he left to defend it, being well seconded by the spirit and activity of Rumbold, who had seized the castle of Ardkinglass near the head of Loch Fine, he was not without hopes of success in his main enterprize against Inverary, when he was called back to Ellengreg, by intelligence of fresh discontents having broken out there, upon the nearer approach of the frigates. Some of the most dissatisfied had even threatened to leave both castle and ships to their fate; nor did the appearance of the Earl himself by any means bring with it that degree of authority which was requisite in such a juncture. His first motion was to disregard the superior force of the men of war, and to engage them with his small fleet; but he soon discovered that he was far indeed from being furnished with the materials necessary to put in execution so bold, or as it may possibly be thought, so romantic a resolution. His associates remonstrated, and a mutiny in his ships was predicted as a certain consequence of the attempt. Leaving therefore, once more, Ellengreg with a garrison under the command of the Laird of Lopness, and strict orders to destroy both ships and fortifications, rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the enemy, he marched towards Gareloch. But whether from the inadequacy of the provisions with which he was able to supply it, or from cowardice, misconduct, or treachery, it does not appear, the castle was soon evacuated without any proper measures being taken to execute the Earl's orders, and the military stores in it to a considerable amount, as well as the ships which had no other defence, were abandoned to the King's forces.

His army dispersed.

This was a severe blow; and all hopes of acting according to the Earl's plan of establishing himself

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strongly in Argyleshire, were now extinguished. He therefore consented to pass the Leven, a little above Dumbarton, and to march eastwards. In this march he was overtaken, at a place called Killerne, by Lord Dumbarton at the head of a large body of the King's troops; but he posted himself with so much skill and judgment, that Dumbarton thought it prudent to wait at least, till the ensuing morning, before he made his attack. Here again Argyle was for risking an engagement, and in his nearly desperate situation, it was probably his best chance, but his advice, (for his repeated misfortunes had scarcely left him the shadow of command,) was rejected.* On the other hand, a proposal was made to him, the most absurd as it should seem, that ever was suggested in similar circumstances, to pass the enemy in the night, and thus exposing his rear, to subject himself to the danger of being surrounded, for the sake of advancing he knew not whither, or for what purpose. To this he could not consent; and it was at last agreed to deceive the enemies by lighting fires, and to decamp in the night towards Glasgow. The first part of this plan was executed with success, and the army went off unperceived by the enemy; but in their night march they were mislead by the ignorance, or the treachery of their guides, and fell into difficulties which would have caused some disorder among the most regular and best disciplined troops. In this case such disorder was fatal, and produced, as among men circumstanced as Argyle's were, it necessarily must, an almost general dispersion. Wandering among bogs and morasses, disheartened by fatigue, terrified by rumours of an approaching enemy, the darkness of the night aggravating at once every real distress, and adding

* Lord Fountainhall's Memoirs, MS. Woodrow, 536.

terror to every vain alarm; in this situation, when even the bravest and the best, (for according to one account Rumbold himself was missing for a time,) were not able to find their leaders, nor the corps to which they respectively belonged; it is no wonder that many took this opportunity to abandon a cause now become desperate, and to effect individually that escape which, as a body, they had no longer any hopes to accomplish.* CHAP. III. 1685.

When the small remains of this ill-fated army got together, in the morning, at Kilpatrick, a place far distant from their destination, its number was reduced to less than five hundred. Argyle had lost all authority; nor indeed, had he retained any, does it appear that he could now have used it to any salutary purpose. The same bias which had influenced the two parties in the time of better hopes, and with regard to their early operations, still prevailed, now that they were driven to their last extremity. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane would not stay even to reason the matter with him whom, at the onset of their expedition, they had engaged to obey, but crossed the Clyde, with such as would follow them, to the number of about two hundred, into Renfrewshire.†

Argyle taken prisoner.

Argyle, thus deserted, and almost alone, still looked to his own country as the sole remaining hope, and sent off Sir Duncan Campbell, with the two Duncansons, father and son, persons all three, by whom he seemed to have been served with the most exemplary zeal and fidelity, to attempt new levies there. Having done this, and settled such means of correspondence as the state of affairs would permit, he repaired to the house of an old servant, upon whose attachment he had relied for an asylum, but was peremptorily de-

* Woodrow, II. 535, 536. † Ibid, 535.

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nied entrance. Concealment in this part of the country seemed now impracticable, and he was forced at last to pass the Clyde, accompanied by the brave and faithful Fullarton. Upon coming to a ford of the Inchanon, they were stopped by some militia men. Fullarton used in vain, all the best means which his presence of mind suggested to him to save his General. He attempted one while by gentle, and then by harsher language, to detain the commander of the party till the Earl, who was habited as a common countryman, and whom he passed for his guide, should have made his escape. At last when he saw them determined to go after his pretended guide, he offered to surrender himself without a blow, upon condition of their desisting from their pursuit. This agreement was accepted but not adhered to, and two horsemen were detached to seize Argyle. The Earl, who was also on horseback, grappled with them, till one of them and himself came to the ground. He then presented his pocket pistols, on which the two retired; but soon after five more came up, who fired without effect, and he thought himself like to get rid of them, but they knocked him down with their swords, and seized him. When they knew whom they had taken they seemed much troubled, but dared not let him go.* Fullarton perceiving,

* In my relation of the taking of Argyle's person, I have followed his own account, and mostly in his own words. As the authenticity of the paper written in prison, wherein he gives this account, has never been called in question, it seems strange that any historian should have adopted a different one, I take no notice of the story, by which he is made to exclaim in falling, "Unfortunate Argyle!" and thus to discover himself. Besides, that there is no authority for it, it has not the air of a real fact, but rather resembles a clumsy contrivance in some play, where the poet is put to his last shift, for means to produce a discovery necessary to his plot.

that the stipulation on which he had surrendered himself was violated, and determined to defend himself to the last, or at least to wreak, before he fell, his just vengeance upon his perfidious opponents, grasped at the sword of one of them, but in vain; he was overpowered and made prisoner.*

The indignities offered to him

Argyle was immediately carried to Renfrew, thence to Glasgow, and on the 20th of June was led in triumph into Edinburgh. The order of the council was particular; that he should be led bare-headed, in the midst of Graham's guards, with their matches cocked, his hands tied behind his back, and preceded by the common hangman, in which situation, that he might be the more exposed to the insults and taunts of the vulgar, it was directed that he should be carried to the Castle by a circuitous route.† To the equanimity with which he bore these indignities, as indeed to the manly spirit exhibited by him throughout, in these last scenes of his life, ample testimony is borne by all the historians who have treated of them, even those who are the least partial to him. He had frequent opportunities of conversing, and some of writing, during his imprisonment, and it is from such parts of these conversations and writings as have been preserved to us, that we can best form to ourselves a just notion of his deportment during that trying period; at the same time, a true representation of the temper of his mind, in such circumstances, will serve, in no small degree, to illustrate his general character and disposition.

endured with magnanimity.

His mildness and resignation.

We have already seen how he expressed himself with regard to the men, who by taking him, became the immediate cause of his calamity.‡ He seems to

* Woodrow, 536, 537. † Woodrow, 538.

‡ "As soon as they knew what I was, they seemed to be much "troubled, but durst not let me go." Woodrow, 537. In ano-

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feel a sort of gratitude to them, for the sorrow he saw, or fancied he saw in them, when they knew who he was, and immediately suggests an excuse for them, by saying, that they did not dare to follow the impulse of their hearts. Speaking of the supineness of his countrymen, and of the little assistance he had received from them, he declares with his accustomed piety, his resignation to the will of God, which was that Scotland should not be delivered at this time, nor especially by his hand; and then exclaims, with the regret of a patriot, but with no bitterness of disappointment, "But alas! who is there to be delivered! There "may," says he, "be hidden ones, but there appears "no great party in the country, who desire to be re- "lieved."* Justice, in some degree, but still more, that warm affection for his own kindred and vassals, which seems to have formed a marked feature in this nobleman's character, then induces him to make an exception in favour of his poor friends in Argyleshire, in treating for whom, though in what particular way does not appear, he was employing, and with some hopes of success, the few remaining hours of his life. In recounting the failure of his expedition, it is impossible for him not to touch upon what he deemed the misconduct of his friends; and this is the subject upon which, of all others, his temper must have been most irritable. A certain description of friends, (the words describing them are omitted,) were all of them, without exception, his greatest enemies, both to betray and destroy him; and and (the names again omitted,) were the greatest cause of his rout, and his being taken, though not designedly he acknow-

ther paper, he says, "Of the militia who wounded and took me, "some wept, but durst no let me go." Id. 538. Supra, 205. E.

* Woodrow, 538.

ledges, but by ignorance, cowardice, and faction.* This sentence had scarce escaped him, when, notwithstanding the qualifying words with which his candor had acquitted the last mentioned persons of intentional treachery, it appeared too harsh to his gentle nature, and declaring himself displeased with the hard epithets† he had used, he desires they may be put out of any account that is to be given of these transactions. The manner in which this request is worded, shows, that the paper he was writing was intended for a letter, and as it is supposed, to a Mrs. Smith, who seems to have assisted him with money; but whether or not, this lady was the rich widow of Amsterdam, before alluded to, I have not been able to learn. CHAP. III. 1685.

When he is told that he is to be put to the torture, he neither breaks out into any high-sounding bravado, any premature vaunts of the resolution with which he will endure it, nor, on the other hand, into passionate exclamations on the cruelty of his enemies, or unmanly lamentations of his fate. After stating that orders Threatened with torture.

* " friends were our greatest enemies, all without " exception, both to betray and destroy us; and indeed " and were the greatest cause of our rout, and (of) my " being taken; though not designedly I acknowledge, yet by ig- " norance, cowardice, and faction." E.

† " I am not pleased with myself. I have such hard epithets " of some of my countrymen, seeing they are Christians; pray " put it out of any account you give; only I must acknowledge, " they were not governable, and the humour you found begun, " continued." Woodrow, II. 538. After an ineffectual research to discover the original MS. Mr. Fox observes in a letter, " *Coch-* " *rane* and *Hume* certainly filled up the two principal blanks; " with respect to the other blank, it is more difficult, but neither " is it very material." Accordingly, the blanks in the text, and in the preceding note, may be filled up thus, " (*Cochrane's*) " friends were our greatest enemies," &c. " and indeed *Hume* " and *Cochrane*, were the greatest cause of our rout." &c. E.

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were arrived, that he must be tortured, unless he answers all questions upon oath, he simply adds, that he hopes God will support him; and then leaves off writing, not from any want of spirits to proceed, but to enjoy the consolation which was yet left him, in the society of his wife, the Countess being just then admitted.

His examination by Queensberry.

Of his interview with Queensberry, who examined him in private, little is known, except that he denied his design having been concerted with any persons in Scotland; that he gave no information with respect to his associates in England; and that he boldly and frankly averred his hopes to have been founded on the cruelty of the administration, and such a disposition in the people to revolt, as he conceived to be the natural consequence of oppression. He owned at the same time, that he had trusted too much to this principle.* The precise date of this conversation, whether it took place before the threat of the torture, whilst that threat was impending, or, when there was no longer any intention of putting it into execution, I have not been able to ascertain; but the probability seems to be, that it was during the first or second of these periods.

Considers his enterprize as lawful.

Notwithstanding the ill success that had attended his enterprize, he never expresses, or even hints the smallest degree of contrition for having undertaken it: on the contrary, when Mr. Charteris, an eminent divine, is permitted to wait on him, his first caution to that minister is, not to try to convince him of the unlawfulness of his attempt, concerning which his opinion was settled, and his mind made up.† Of some parts of his past conduct he does indeed confess that he repents, but these are the compliances of which he

* Burnet, II. 315. † Burnet.

had been guilty in support of the King, or his predecessors. Possibly in this he may allude to his having in his youth borne arms against the Covenant, but with more likelihood to his concurrence, in the late reign, with some of the measures of Lauderdale's administration, for whom it is certain that he entertained a great regard, and to whom he conceived himself to be principally indebted for his escape from his first sentence. Friendship and gratitude might have carried him to lengths which patriotism and justice must condemn. CHAP. III. 1685.

Religious concerns, in which he seems to have been very serious and sincere, engaged much of his thoughts; but his religion was of that genuine kind, which by representing the performance of our duties to our neighbour, as the most acceptable service to God, strengthens all the charities of social life. While he anticipates, with a hope of approaching to certainty a happy futurity, he does not forget those who had been justly dear to him in this world. He writes, on the day of his execution, to his wife, and to some other relations, for whom he seems to have entertained a sort of parental tenderness, short but the most affectionate letters, wherein he gives them the greatest satisfaction then in his power, by assuring them of his composure and tranquillity of mind, and refers them for further consolations to those sources from which he derived his own. In his letter to Mrs. Smith, written on the same day, he says, "While any thing "was a burden to me, your concern was; which is "a cross greater than I can express," (alluding probably to the pecuniary loss she had incurred,) "but "I have, I thank God, overcome all."* Her name, he adds, could not be concealed, and that he knows His deportment on the day of his execution.

* Woodrow, II. 541, 542.

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not what may have been discovered from any paper which may have been taken; otherwise he has named none to their disadvantage. He states that those in whose hands he is, had at first used him hardly, but that God had melted their hearts, and that he was now treated with civility. As an instance of this, he mentions the liberty he had obtained of sending this letter to her; a liberty which he takes as a kindness on their part, and which he had sought that she might not think he had forgotten her.

Never perhaps did a few sentences present so striking a picture of a mind truly virtuous and honorable. Heroic courage is the least part of his praise, and vanishes as it were from our sight, when we contemplate the sensibility with which he acknowledges the kindness, such as it is, of the very men who are leading him to the scaffold; the generous satisfaction which he feels on reflecting that no confession of his has endangered his associates; and above all, his anxiety, in such moments, to perform all the duties of friendship and gratitude, not only with the most scrupulous exactness, but with the most considerate attention to the feelings as well as to the interests of the person who was the the object of them. Indeed, it seems throughout, to have been the peculiar felicity of this man's mind, that every thing was present to it that ought to be so; nothing that ought not. Of his country he could not be unmindful; and it was one among other consequences of his happy temper, that on this subject he did not entertain those gloomy ideas, which the then state of Scotland was but two well fitted to inspire. In a conversation with an intimate friend, he says, that though he does not take upon him to be a prophet, he doubts not but that deliverance will come, and suddenly, of which his failings had rendered him unworthy to be the instrument. In some verses which

he composed on the night preceding his execution, and which he intended for his epitaph, he thus expresses this hope still more distinctly: CHAP. III. 1685.

"On my attempt though Providence did frown,
"His oppressed people God at length shall own;
"Another hand, by more successful speed,
"Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent's head."

With respect to the epitaph itself, of which these lines form a part, it is probable that he composed it chiefly with a view to amuse and relieve his mind, fatigued with exertion; and partly, perhaps, in imitation of the famous Marquis of Montrose, who, in similar circumstances, had written some verses which have been much celebrated. The poetical merit of the pieces appears to be nearly equal, and is not in either instance considerable, and they are only in so far valuable, as they may serve to convey to us some image of the minds by which they were produced. He who reads them with this view, will perhaps be of opinion, that the spirit manifested in the two compositions, is rather equal in degree, than like in character; that the courage of Montrose was more turbulent, that of Argyle more calm and sedate. If on the one hand it is to be regretted, that we have not more memorials left of passages so interesting, and that even of those which we do possess, a great part is obscured by time; it must be confessed, on the other, that we have quite enough to enable us to pronounce, that for constancy and equanimity under the severest trials, few men have equalled, none ever surpassed, the Earl of Argyle. The most powerful of all tempters, hope, was not held out to him, so that he had not, it is true, in addition to his other hard tasks, that of resisting her seductive influence; but the passions of a different class had the fullest scope for their attacks. These,

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however, could make no impresson on his well-disciplined mind. Anger could not exasperate, fear could not appal him; and if disappointment and indignation at the misbehaviour of his followers, and the supineness of the country, did occasionally, as sure they must, cause uneasy sensations, they had not the power to extort from him one unbecoming, or even querulous expression. Let him be weighed ever so scrupulously, and in the nicest scales, he will not be found, in a single instance, wanting in the charity of a Christian, the firmness and benevolence of a patriot, the integrity and fidelity of a man of honour.

An Address from the Scotch Parliament against him.

The Scotch Parliament had, on the eleventh of June, sent an Address to the King, wherein, after praising his Majesty as usual for his extraordinary prudence, courage, and conduct, and loading Argyle, whom they style an hereditary traitor, with every reproach they can devise, among others, that of ingratitude for the favours which he had received, as well from his Majesty, as from his predecessor, they implore his Majesty that the Earl may find no favour; and that the Earl's family, the heritors, ring-leaders, and preachers who joined him, should be for ever declared incapable of mercy, or bearing any honour or estate in the kingdom; and all subjects discharged under the highest pains to intercede for them in any manner of way. Never was address more graciously received, or more readily complied with; and accordingly, the following letter with the royal signature, and countersigned by Lord Melford, Secretary of State for Scotland, was dispatched to the council at Edinburgh, and by them entered and registered on the twenty-ninth of June.

The warrant for his execution.

"Whereas, the late Earl of Argyle is, by the pro-
"vidence of God, fallen into our power, it is our will
"and pleasure that you take all ways to know from

"him those things which concern our government "most, as his assisters with men, arms, and money; "his associates and correspondents; his designs, &c. "But this must be done, so as no time may be lost "in bringing him to condign punishment, by causing "him to be demeaned as a traitor, within the space "of three days after this shall come to your hands; "an account of which, with what he shall confess, "you shall send immediately to us or our Secreta- "ries; for doing which, this shall be your warrant."*

When it is recollected that torture had been in common use in Scotland, and that the persons to whom the letter was addressed, had often caused it to be inflicted, the words "It is our will and pleasure "that you take all ways," seem to convey a positive command for applying of it in this instance; yet it is certain that Argyle was not tortured. What was the cause of this seeming disregard of the royal injunctions, does not appear. One would hope, for the honour of human nature, that James, struck with some compunction for the injuries he had already heaped upon the head of this unfortunate nobleman, sent some private orders contradictory to this public letter; but there is no trace to be discovered of such a circumstance. The managers themselves might feel a sympathy for a man of their own rank, which had no influence in the cases where only persons of an inferior station were to be the sufferers; and in those words of the King's letter, which enjoin a speedy punishment, as the primary object to which all others must give way; they might find a pretext for overlooking the most odious part of the order, and of indulging their humanity, such as it was, by appointing the earliest day possible for the execution. In order

* Woodrow, II. 539.

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that the triumph of injustice might be complete, it was determined, that without any new trial, the Earl should suffer upon the iniquitous sentence of sixteen hundred and eighty-two. Accordingly, the very next day ensuing was appointed, and on the thirtieth of June he was brought from the Castle, first to the Laigh Council-House, and thence to the place of execution.

An incident before his execution.

Before he left the Castle he had his dinner at the usual hour, at which he discoursed, not only calmly, but even cheerfully with Mr. Charteris and others. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bed-chamber, where, it is recorded, that he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed, one of the members of the council came and intimated to the attendants a desire to speak with him: upon being told that the Earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, the manager disbelieved the account, which he considered as a device to avoid further questionings. To satisfy him, the door of the bed-chamber was half opened, and he then beheld, enjoying a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man, who by the doom of him and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours! Struck with the sight, he hurried out of the room, quitted the Castle with the utmost precipitation, and hid himself in the lodgings of an acquaintance who lived near, where he flung himself upon the first bed that presented itself, and had every appearance of a man suffering the most excruciating torture. His friend, who had been apprized by the servant of the state he was in, and who naturally concluded that he was ill, offered him some wine. He refused, saying, "No, no, that will not "help me; I have been in at Argyle, and saw him "sleeping as pleasantly as ever man did, within an

"hour of eternity. But as for me——." * The name of the person to whom this anecdote relates, is not mentioned, and the truth of it may therefore be fairly considered as liable to that degree of doubt, with which men of judgment receive every species of traditional history. Woodrow, however, whose veracity is above suspicion, says he had it from the most unquestionable authority. It is not in itself unlikely, and who is there that would not wish it true? What a satisfactory spectacle to a philosophical mind, to see the oppressor, in the zenith of his power, envying his victim! What an acknowledgment of the superiority of virtue! what an affecting, and forcible testimony to the value of that peace of mind, which innocence alone can confer! We know not who this man was; but when we reflect, that the guilt which agonized him was probably incurred for the sake of some vain title, or at least of some increase of wealth, which he did not want, and possibly knew not how to enjoy, our disgust is turned into something like compassion for that very foolish class of men, whom the world calls wise in their generation.

His behaviour on the scaffold.

Soon after his short repose Argyle was brought, according to order, to the Laigh Council-House, from which place is dated the letter to his wife, and thence to the place of execution. On the scaffold he had some discourse, as well with Mr. Annand, a minister appointed by government to attend him, as with Mr. Charteris. He desired both of them to pray for him, and prayed himself with much fervency and devotion. The speech which he made to the people was such as might be expected from the passages already related. The same mixture of firmness and mildness is conspicuous in every part of it. "We ought not,"

* Woodrow, II. 541.

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says he, "to despise our afflictions, nor to faint under "them. We must not suffer ourselves to be exaspe- "rated against the instruments of our troubles, nor by "fraudulent, nor pusillanimous compliances, bring "guilt upon ourselves; faint hearts are ordinarily "false hearts, choosing sin, rather than suffering." He offers his prayers to God for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that an end may be put to their present trials. Having then asked pardon for his own failings, both of God and man, he would have concluded: but being reminded that he had said nothing of the Royal family, he adds that he refers, in this matter, to what he had said at his trial concerning the test; that he prayed there never might be wanting one of the Royal Family to support the Protestant Religion, and if any of them had swerved from the true faith, he prayed God to turn their hearts, but at any rate to save his people from their machinations. When he had ended, he turned to the south side of the scaffold, and said, "Gentlemen, I pray you "do not misconstruct my behaviour this day: I free- "ly forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done "against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God." Mr. Annand repeated these words louder to the people. The Earl then went to the north side of the scaffold, and used the same or the like expressions. Mr. Annand repeated them again, and said, "This "nobleman dies a Protestant." The Earl stept forward again, and said, "I die not only a Protestant, "but with a heart-hatred of Popery, prelacy, and all "superstition whatsomever." * It would perhaps have been better if these last expressions had never been uttered, as there appears certainly something of violence in them, unsuitable to the general tenor of

* Woodrow, 543, 545.

his language; but it must be remembered, first, that the opinion that the Pope is Antichrist was at that time general among almost all the zealous Protestants in these kingdoms; secondly, that Annand, being employed by government, and probably an Episcopalian, the Earl might apprehend that the declaration of such a minister, might not convey the precise idea, which he, Argyle, affixed to the word Protestant. CHAP. III. 1685.

He then embraced his friends, gave some tokens of remembrance to his son-in-law, Lord Maitland, for his daughter and grand-children, stript himself of part of his apparel, of which he likewise made presents, and laid his head upon the block. Having uttered a short prayer, he gave the signal to the executioner, which was instantly obeyed, and his head severed from his body.* Such were the last hours, and such the final close, of this great man's life. May the like happy serenity in such dreadful circumstances, and a death equally glorious, be the lot of all, whom tyranny, of whatever denomination or description, shall in any age, or in any country, call to expiate their virtues on the scaffold! His execution.

Of the followers of Argyle, in the disastrous expedition above recounted, the fortunes were various. Among those who either surrendered or were taken, some suffered the same fate with their commander, others were pardoned; while, on the other hand, of those who escaped to foreign parts, many after a short exile returned triumphantly to their country at the period of the Revolution, and under a system congenial to their principles, some even attained the highest honours and dignities of the state. It is to be recollected, that when, after the disastrous night-march from Killerne, a separation took place at Kilpatrick Fate of his followers.

* Woodrow, 543, 545.

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between Argyle and his confederates, Sir John Cochrane, Sir Patrick Hume, and others, crossed the Clyde into Renfrewshire, with about, it is supposed, two hundred men. Upon their landing, they met with some opposition from a troop of militia horse, which was however feeble and ineffectual; but fresh parties of militia, as well as regular troops drawing together, a sort of scuffle ensued, near a place called Muirdyke; an offer of quarter was made by the King's troops, but (probably on account of the conditions annexed to it,) was refused; and Cochrane and the rest, now reduced to the number of seventy, took shelter in a a fold-dyke, where they were able to resist and repel, though not without loss on each side, the attack of the enemy. Their situation was nevertheless still desperate, and in the night they determined to make their escape. The King's troops having retired, this was effected without difficulty; and this remnant of an army being dispersed by common consent, every man sought his own safety in the best manner he could. Sir John Cochrane took refuge in the house of an uncle, by whom, or by whose wife it is said, he was betrayed. He was however pardoned; and from this circumstance, coupled with the constant and seemingly peevish opposition which he gave to almost all Argyle's plans, a suspicion has arisen, that he had been treacherous throughout. But the account given of his pardon by Burnet, who says his father, Lord Dundonald, who was an opulent nobleman, purchased it with a considerable sum of money,* is more credible, as well as more candid; and it must be remembered, that in Sir John's disputes with his general, he was almost always acting in conjunction with Sir Patrick Hume, who is proved by the subsequent events, and indeed by the whole tenor of his life and

Cochrane betrayed and pardoned.

* Burnet, II. 316.

conduct, to have been uniformly sincere and zealous in the cause of his country. Cochrane was sent to England, where he had an interview with the King, and gave such answers to the questions put to him, as were deemed satisfactory by his Majesty; and the information thus obtained, whatever might be the real and secret causes, furnished a plausible pretence at least for the exercise of royal mercy. Sir Patrick Hume, after having concealed himself some time in the house, and under the protection, of Lady Eleanor Dunbar, sister to the Earl of Eglington, found means to escape to Holland, whence he returned in better times, and was created first Lord Hume of Polwarth, and afterward Earl of Marchmont. Fullarton, and Campbell of Auchinbreak, appear to have escaped, but by what means is not known. Two sons of Argyle, John and Charles, and Archibald Campbell, his nephew, were sentenced to death and forfeiture, but the capital part of the sentence was remitted. Thomas Archer, a clergyman, who had been wounded at Muirdyke, was executed, notwithstanding many applications in his favour, among which was one from Lord Drumlanrig, Queensberry's eldest son. Woodrow, who was himself a Presbyterian minister, and though a most valuable and correct historian, was not without a tincture of the prejudices belonging to his order, attributes the unrelenting spirit of the Government in this instance, to their malice against the clergy of his sect. Some of the holy ministry, he observes, as Guthrie at the Restoration, Kidd and Mackail after the insurrections at Pentland and Bothwell-bridge, and now Archer, were upon every occasion to be sacrificed to the fury of the persecutors.* But to him who is well acquainted with the history

Hume and others escaped to Holland.

Archer executed.

* Woodrow, 553.

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of this period, the habitual cruelty of the government will fully account for any particular act of severity; and it is only in cases of lenity, such as that of Cochrane, for instance, that he will look for some hidden or special motive.

Ayloffe executed in England.

Ayloffe, having in vain attempted to kill himself, was, like Cochrane, sent to London to be examined. His relationship to the King's first wife might perhaps be one inducement to this measure, or it might be thought more expedient that he should be executed for the Rye-house plot, the credit of which it was a favourite object of the Court to uphold, than for his recent acts of rebellion in Scotland. Upon his examination he refused to give any information, and suffered death upon a sentence of outlawry, which had passed in the former reign. It is recorded, that James interrogated him personally, and finding him sullen, and unwilling to speak, said, "Mr. Ayloffe, you know it "is in my power to pardon you, therefore say that "which may deserve it;" to which Ayloffe replied, "Though it is in your power, it is not in your nature "to pardon." This, however, is one of those anecdotes, which is believed rather on account of the air of nature that belongs to them, than upon any very good traditional authority, and which ought, therefore, when any very material inference, with respect either to fact or character, is to be drawn from them, to be received with great caution.

Rumbold.

Rumbold, covered with wounds, and defending himself with uncommon exertions of strength and courage, was at last taken. However desirable it might have been thought, to execute in England a man so deeply implicated in the Rye-house plot, the state of Rumbold's health made such a project impracticable. Had it been attempted, he would probably, by a natural death, have disappointed the views of a govern-

ment who were eager to see brought to the block, a man whom they thought, or pretended to think, guilty of having projected the assassination of the late and present King. Weakened as he was in body, his mind was firm, his constancy unshaken; and notwithstanding some endeavours that were made by drums, and other instruments, to drown his voice when he was addressing the people from the scaffold, enough has been preserved of what he then uttered, to satisfy us, that his personal courage, the praise of which has not been denied him, was not of the vulgar or constitutional kind, but was accompanied with a proportionable vigour of mind. Upon hearing his sentence, whether in imitation of Montrose, or from that congeniality of character, which causes men in similar circumstances to conceive similar sentiments, he expressed the same wish which that gallant nobleman had done; he wished he had a limb for every town in Christendom. With respect to the intended assassination imputed to him, he protested his innocence, and desired to be believed upon the faith of a dying man; adding, in terms as natural as they are forcibly descriptive of a conscious dignity of character, that he was too well known, for any to have had the imprudence to make such a proposition to him. He concluded with plain, and apparently sincere, declarations of his undiminished attachment to the principles of liberty, civil and religious; denied that he was an enemy to monarchy, affirming, on the contrary, that he considered it, when properly limited, as the most eligible form of government; but that he never could believe that any man was born marked by God above another, "for none comes into "the world with a saddle on his back, neither any "booted and spurred to ride him."*

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His denial of the assassination plot.

* Ralph, I. 872.

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Overlooked by historians.

Except by Ralph, who, with a warmth that does honour to his feelings, expatiates at some length upon the subject, the circumstances attending the death of this extraordinary man have been little noticed. Rapin, Echard, Kennet, Hume, make no mention of them whatever; and yet, exclusively of the interest always excited by any great display of spirit and magnanimity, his solemn denial of the project of assassination imputed to him in the affair of the Rye-house plot, is in itself a fact of great importance, and one which might have been expected to attract, in no small degree, the attention of the historian. That Hume, who has taken some pains in canvassing the degree of credit due to the different parts of the Rye-house plot, should pass it over in silence, is the more extraordinary, because, in the case of the Popish plot, he lays, and justly lays, the greatest stress upon the dying declarations of the sufferers. Burnet adverts, as well to the peculiar language used by Rumbold, as to his denial of the assassination; but having before given us to understand, that he believed that no such crime had been projected, it is the less to be wondered at, that he does not much dwell upon this further evidence in favour of his former opinion. Sir John Dalrymple, upon the authority of a paper which he does not produce, but from which he quotes enough to show, that if produced it would not answer his purpose, takes Rumbold's guilt for a decided fact, and then states his dying protestations of his innocence, as an instance of aggravated wickedness.* It is to be remarked too, that although Sir John is pleased roundly to assert, that Rumbold denied the share he had had in the Rye-house plot, yet the particular words which he cites neither contain, nor express, nor imply any such de-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, I. 141.

nial. He has not even selected those, by which the design of assassination was denied, (the only denial that was uttered,) but refers to a general declaration made by Rumbold, that he had done injustice to no man; a declaration which was by no means inconsistent with his having been a party to a plot, which he, no doubt, considered as justifiable, and even meritorious. This is not all: the paper referred to is addressed to Walcot, by whom Rumbold states himself to have been led on; and Walcot with his last breath, denied his own participation in any design to murder either Charles or James. Thus, therefore, whether the declaration of the sufferer be interpreted in a general, or in a particular sense, there is no contradiction whatever between it and the paper adduced; but thus it is, that the character of a brave, and, as far as appears, a virtuous man, is most unjustly and cruelly traduced. An incredible confusion of head, and an uncommon want of reasoning powers, which distinguish the author to whom I refer, are, I should charitably hope, the true sources of his misrepresentation; while others may probably impute it to his desire of blackening, upon any pretence, a person whose name is more or less connected with those of Sidney and Russel. It ought not, perhaps, to pass without observation, that this attack upon Rumbold is introduced only in an oblique manner: the rigour of government destroyed, says the historian, the morals it intended to correct, and made the unhappy sufferer add to his former crimes, the atrocity of declaring a falsehood in his last moments. Now, what particular instances of rigour are here alluded to, it is difficult to guess: for surely the execution of a man whom he sets down as guilty of a design to murder the two royal brothers, could not, even in the judgment of persons much less accustomed than Sir John to palliate the crimes of

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princes, be looked upon as an act of blameable severity; but it was thought, perhaps, that for the purpose of conveying a calumny upon the persons concerned, or accused of being concerned, in the Rye-house plot, an affected censure upon the government would be the fittest vehicle.

His declaration examined.

The fact itself, that Rumbold did, in his last hours, solemnly deny the having been concerned in any project for assassinating the King or Duke, has not, I believe, been questioned.* It is not invalidated by the silence of some historians: it is confirmed by the misrepresentation of others. The first question that naturally presents itself, must be, was this declaration true? The asseverations of dying men have always had, and will always have, great influence upon the minds of those who do not push their ill opinion of mankind to the most outrageous and unwarrantable length: but though the weight of such asseverations be in all cases great, it will not be in all equal. It is material therefore to consider, first, what are the circumstances which may tend in particular cases to diminish their credit; and next, how far such circumstances appear to have existed in the case before us. The case where this species of evidence would be the least convincing, would be where hope of pardon is entertained; for then the man is not a dying man in the sense of the proposition, for he has not that certainty that his falsehood will not avail him, which is the principal foundation of the credit due to his assertions. For the same reason, though in a less degree, he who hopes for favour to his children, or to other surviving connections, is to be listened to with some caution; for the existence of one virtue, does not ne-

* It is confirmed, beyond contradiction, by Lord Fontainhall's account of his trial and execution. Vide Appendix. E.

cessarily prove that of another, and he who loves his children and friends may yet be profligate and unprincipled, or, deceiving himself, may think, that while his ends are laudable, he ought not to hesitate concerning the means. Besides these more obvious temptations to prevarication, there is another, which, though it may lie somewhat deeper, yet experience teaches us to be rooted in human nature. I mean that sort of obstinacy, or false shame, which makes men so unwilling to retract what they have once advanced, whether in matter of opinion, or of fact. The general character of the man is also in this, as in all other human testimony, a circumstance of the greatest moment. Where none of the abovementioned objections occur, and where, therefore, the weight of evidence in question is confessedly considerable, yet is it still liable to be balanced or outweighed by evidence in the opposite scale. CHAP. III. 1685.

Let Rumbold's declaration then, be examined upon these principles, and we shall find that it has every character of truth, without a single circumstance to discredit it. He was so far from entertaining any hope of pardon, that he did not seem even to wish it; and indeed, if he had had any such chimerical object in view, he must have known, that to have supplied the government with a proof of the Rye-house Assassination plot, would be a more likely road at least, than a steady denial, to obtain it. He left none behind him, for whom to entreat favour, or whose welfare or honour were at all affected by any confession or declaration he might make. If, in a prospective view, he was without temptation, so neither if he looked back, was he fettered by any former declaration; so that he could not be influenced by that erroneous notion of consistency, to which, it may be feared, that truth, even in the most awful moments, has in some cases

His testimony apparently true.

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been sacrificed. His timely escape, in sixteen hundred and eighty-three, had saved him from the necessity of making any protestation upon the subject of his innocence at that time; and the words of the letter to Walcot are so far from containing such a protestation, that they are quoted, (very absurdly, it is true,) by Sir John Dalrymple, as an avowal of guilt. If his testimony is free from these particular objections, much less is it impeached by his general character, which was that of a bold and daring man, who was very unlikely to feel shame in avowing what he had not been ashamed to commit, and who seems to have taken a delight in speaking bold truths, or at least what appeared to him to be such, without regarding the manner in which his hearers were likely to receive them. With respect to the last consideration, that of the opposite evidence, it all depends upon the veracity of men, who, according to their own account, betrayed their comrades, and were actuated by the hope either of pardon or reward.

Importance of the fact.

It appears to be of the more consequence to clear up this matter, because, if we should be of opinion, as I think we all must be, that the story of the intended assassination of the King, in his way from Newmarket, *is as* fabulous as that of the silver bullets by which he was to have been shot at Windsor, a most singular train of reflections will force itself upon our minds, as well in regard to the character of the times, as to the means by which the two causes gained successively the advantage over each other. The Royalists had found it impossible to discredit the fiction, gross as it was, of the Popish plot; nor could they prevent it from being a powerful engine in the hands of the Whigs, who, during the alarm raised by it, gained an irresistible superiority in the House of Commons, in the City of London, and in most parts

of the kingdom. But they who could not quiet a false alarm raised by their adversaries, found little or no difficulty in raising one equally false in their own favour, by the supposed detection of the intended assassination. With regard to the advantages derived to the respective parties from those detestable fictions, if it be urged, on one hand, that the panic spread by the Whigs was more universal, and more violent in its effects, it must be allowed, on the other, that the advantages gained by the Tories were, on account of their alliance with the Crown, more durable and decisive. There is a superior solidity ever belonging to the power of the Crown, as compared with that of any body of men or party, or even with either of the other branches of the legislature. A party has influence, but, properly speaking, no power. The Houses of Parliament have abundance of power, but, as bodies, little or no influence. The Crown has both power and influence, which, when exerted with wisdom and steadiness, will always be found too strong for any opposition whatever, till the zeal and fidelity of party attachments shall be found to increase in proportion to the increased influence of the executive power.

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While these matters were transacting in Scotland, Monmouth, conformably to his promise to Argyle, set sail from Holland, and landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire on the eleventh of June. He was attended by Lord Grey of Wark, Fletcher of Salton, Colonel Matthews, Ferguson, and a few other gentlemen. His reception was, among the lower ranks, cordial, and for some days, at least, if not weeks, there seemed to have been more foundation for the sanguine hopes of Lord Grey, and others, his followers, than the Duke had supposed. The first step taken by the invader, was to issue a proclamation, which he caused

Monmouth's invasion.

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to be read in the market-place. In this instrument he touched upon what were, no doubt, thought to be the most popular topics; and loaded James, and his Catholic friends, with every imputation which had at any time been thrown against them. This declaration appears to have been well received, and the numbers that came in to him were very considerable; but his means of arming them were limited, nor had he much confidence, for the purpose of any important military operation, in men unused to discipline, and wholly unacquainted with the art of war. Without examining the question, whether or not Monmouth, from his professional prejudices, carried, as some have alleged he did, his diffidence of unpractised soldiers, and new levies, too far, it seems clear that in his situation, the best, or rather the only chance of success, was to be looked for in councils of the boldest kind. If he could not immediately strike some important stroke, it was not likely that he ever should; nor indeed was he in a condition to wait. He could not flatter himself, as Argyle had done, that he had a strong country, full of relations and dependents, where he might secure himself till the co-operation of his confederate, or some other favorable circumstance, might put it in his power to act more efficaciously. Of any brilliant success in Scotland he could not, at this time, entertain any hope, nor if he had, could he rationally expect that any events in that quarter would make the sort of impression here, which, on the other hand, his success would produce in Scotland. With money he was wholly unprovided, nor does it appear, whatever may have been the inclination of some considerable men, such as Lords Macclesfield, Brandon, Delamere, and others, that any persons of that description were engaged to join in his enterprize. His reception had been above his hopes, and his recruits more numerous than could be

expected, or than he was able to furnish with arms; while on the other hand, the forces in arms against him consisted chiefly in a militia, formidable neither from numbers nor discipline, and moreover suspected of disaffection. The present moment therefore, seemed to offer the most favorable opportunity for enterprize of any that was like to occur; but the unfortunate Monmouth judged otherwise, and, as if he were to defend rather than to attack, directed his chief policy to the avoiding of a general action.

His success at Bridport.

It being however absolutely necessary to dislodge some troops which the Earl of Faversham had thrown into Bridport, a detachment of three hundred men was made for that purpose, which had the most complete success, notwithstanding the cowardice of Lord Grey, who commanded them. This nobleman, who had been so instrumental in persuading his friend to the invasion, upon the first appearance of danger, is said to have left the troops whom he commanded, and to have sought his own personal safety in flight. The troops carried Bridport, to the shame of the commander who had deserted them and returned to Lyme.

It is related by Ferguson, that Monmouth said to Matthews, "What shall I do with Lord Grey?" to which the other answered, "That he was the only "general in Europe who would ask such a question;" intending, no doubt, to reproach the Duke with the excess to which he pushed his characteristic virtues of mildness and forbearance. That these virtues formed a part of his character, is most true, and the personal friendship in which he lived with Grey, would incline him still more to the exercise of them upon this occasion: but it is to be remembered also, that the delinquent was, in respect of rank, property, and perhaps too of talent, by far the most considerable man

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he had with him; and therefore, that prudential motives might concur, to deter a General from proceeding to violent measures with such a person, especially in a civil war, where the discipline of an armed party cannot be conducted upon the same system as that of a regular army serving in a foreign war. Monmouth's disappointment in Lord Grey was aggravated by the loss of Fletcher of Salton, who, in a sort of scuffle that ensued, upon his being reproached for having seized a horse belonging to a man of the country, had the misfortune to kill the owner. Monmouth, however unwilling, thought himself obliged to dismiss him; and thus, while a fatal concurrence of circumstances forced him to part with the man he esteemed, and to retain him whom he despised, he found himself at once disappointed of the support of the two persons upon whom he had most relied.

His subsequent progress.

On the fifteenth of June, his army being now increased to near three thousand men, the Duke marched from Lyme. He does not appear to have taken this step with a view to any enterprise of importance, but rather to avoid the danger which he apprehended from the motions of the Devonshire and Somerset militias, whose object it seemed to be to shut him up in Lyme. In his first day's march, he had opportunities of engaging, or rather of pursuing each of those bodies, who severally retreated from his forces; but conceiving it to be his business, as he said, not to fight but to march on, he went through Axminster, and encamped in a strong piece of ground between that town and Chard in Somersetshire, to which place he proceeded on the ensuing day. According to Wade's narrative, which appears to afford by far the most authentic account of these transactions, here it was that the first proposition was made for proclaiming Monmouth King. Ferguson made the proposal,

and was supported by Lord Grey, but it was *easily run down*, as Wade expresses it, *by those who were against it*, and whom, therefore, we must suppose to have formed a very considerable majority of the persons deemed of sufficient importance to be consulted on such an occasion. These circumstances are material, because if that credit be given to them which they appear to deserve, Ferguson's want of veracity becomes so notorious, that it is hardly worth while to attend to any part of his narrative. Where it only corroborates accounts given by others, it is of little use; and where it differs from them, it deserves no credit. I have therefore wholly disregarded it.

His reception at Taunton.

From Chard, Monmouth and his party proceeded to Taunton, a town, where, as well for the tenor of former occurrences, as from the zeal and number of the Protestant Dissenters, who formed a great portion of its inhabitants, he had every reason to expect the most favourable reception. His expectations were not disappointed. The inhabitants of the upper, as well as the lower classes vied with each other in testifying their affection for his person, and their zeal for his cause. While the latter rent the air with applauses and acclamations, the former opened their houses to him and to his followers, and furnished his army with necessaries and supplies of every kind. His way was strewed with flowers: the windows were thronged with spectators, all anxious to participate in what the warm feelings of the moment made them deem a triumph. Husbands pointed out to their wives, mothers to their children, the brave and lovely hero, who was destined to be the deliverer of his country. The beautiful lines which Dryden makes Achitophel in his highest strain of flattery, apply to this unfortunate nobleman, were in this instance literally verified:

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" Thee, Saviour, thee, the nation's vows confess,
" And never satisfied with seeing, bless.
" Swift unbespoken pomps thy steps proclaim,
" And stammering babes are taught to lisp thy name."

In the midst of these joyous scenes, twenty-six young maids, of the best families in the town presented him, in the name of their townsmen, with colours wrought by them for the purpose, and with a Bible; upon receiving which he said, that he had taken the field with a design to defend the truth contained in that book, and to seal it with his blood if there was occasion.

He is joined by no great families.

In such circumstances it is no wonder that his army increased; and indeed, exclusive of individual recruits, he was here strengthened by the arrival of Colonel Basset with a considerable corps. But in the midst of these prosperous circumstances, some of them of such apparent importance to the success of his enterprize, all of them highly flattering to his feelings, he did not fail to observe that one favourable symptom, (and that too of the most decisive nature,) was still wanting. None of the considerable families, not a single nobleman, and scarcely any gentlemen of rank and consequence in the counties through which he had passed, had declared in his favour. Popular applause is undoubtedly sweet; and not only so, it often furnishes most powerful means to the genius that knows how to make use of them. But Monmouth well knew that without the countenance and assistance of a proportion, at least, of the higher ranks in the country, there was, for an undertaking like his, little prospect of success. He could not but have remarked that the habits and prejudices of the English people are, in a great degree, aristocratical; nor had he before him, nor indeed have we, since his time, had one single example of an insurrection that was

successful, unaided by the ancient families and great landed proprietors. He must have felt this the more, because, in former parts of his political life, he had been accustomed to act with such coadjutors; and it is highly probable, that if Lord Russel had been alive, and could have appeared at the head of one hundred only of his western tenantry, such a reinforcement would have inspired him with more real confidence, than the thousands who individually flocked to his standard.

He declares himself King.

But though Russel was no more, there were not wanting, either in the provinces through which the Duke passed, or in other parts of the kingdom, many noble and wealthy families, who were attached to the principles of the Whigs. To account for their neutrality, and, if possible, to persuade them to a different conduct, was naturally among his principal concerns. Their present coldness might be imputed to the indistinctness of his declarations, with respect to what was intended to be the future government. Men zealous for monarchy, might not choose to embark without some certain pledge that their favourite form should be preserved. They would also expect to be satisfied with respect to the person whom their arms, if successful, were to place upon the throne. To promise, therefore, the continuance of a monarchial establishment, and to designate the future monarch, seemed to be necessary for the purpose of acquiring aristocratical support. Whatever might be the intrinsic weight of this argument, it easily made its way with Monmouth in his present situation. The aspiring temper of mind which is the natural consequence of popular favour and success, produced in him a disposition to listen to any suggestion which tended to his elevation and aggrandizement; and when he could persuade himself upon reasons specious at least, that

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the measures which would most gratify his aspiring desires, would be, at the same time, a stroke of the soundest policy, it is not to be wondered at, that it was immediately and impatiently adopted. Urged therefore, by these mixed motives, he declared himself King, and issued divers proclamations in the royal style; assigning to those whose approbation he doubted, the reasons above adverted to, and proscribing, and threatening with the punishment due to rebellion, such as should resist his mandates, and adhere to the usurping Duke of York.

Dissatisfaction which it occasions.

If this measure was in reality taken with views of policy those views were miserably disappointed; for it does not appear that one proselyte was gained. The threats in the proclamation were received with derision by the King's army, and no other sentiments were excited by the assumption of the royal title, than those of contempt and indignation. The commonwealthsmen were dissatisfied, of course, with the principle of the measure: the favourers of hereditary right held it in abhorrence, and considered it as a kind of sacrilegious profanation; nor even among those who considered monarchy in a more rational light, and as a magistracy instituted for the good of the people, could it be at all agreeable that such a magistrate should be elected by the army that had thronged to his standard, or by the particular partiality of a provincial town. Monmouth's strength therefore, was by no means increased by his new title, and seemed to be still limited to two descriptions of persons; first, those who from thoughtlessness or desperation, were willing to join in any attempt at innovation; secondly, such as directing their views to a single point, considered the destruction of James's tyranny as the object which, at all hazards, and without regard to consequences, they were bound to

pursue. On the other hand his reputation both for moderation and good faith was considerably impaired, inasmuch, as his present conduct was in direct contradiction to that part of his declaration, wherein he had promised to leave the future adjustment of government, and especially the consideration of his own claims, to a free and independent parliament.

Delay at Taunton.

The notion of improving his new levies by discipline, seems to have taken such possession of Monmouth's mind, that he overlooked the probable, or rather the certain consequences of a delay, by which the enemy would be enabled to bring into the field, forces far better disciplined and appointed than any which, even with the most strenuous and successful exertions, he could hope to oppose to them. Upon this principle, and especially as he had not yet fixed upon any definite object of enterprize, he did not think a stay of a few days at Taunton would be materially, if at all prejudicial to his affairs, and it was not till the twenty-first of June that he proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was received in the most cordial manner. In his march the following day from that town to Glastonbury, he was alarmed by a party of the Earl of Oxford's horse; but all apprehensions of any material interruptions were removed, by an account of the militia having left Wells, and retreated to Bath and Bristol. From Glastonbury he went to Shipton-Mallet, where the project of an attack upon Bristol was first communicated by the Duke to his officers. After some discussion, it was agreed that the attack should be made on the Glocestershire side of the city, and with that view, to pass the Avon at Keynsham-bridge, a few miles from Bath. In their march from Shipton-Mallet, the troops were again harrassed in their rear by a party of horse and dragoons, but lodged quietly at night at a vilage called Pensford.

Design to attack Bristol.

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A detachment was sent early the next morning to possess itself of Keynsham, and to repair the bridge, which might probably be broken down, to prevent a passage. Upon their approach, a troop of the Gloucestershire horse militia immediately abandoned the town in great precipitation, leaving behind them two horses and one man. By break of day, the bridge, which had not been much injured, was repaired, and before noon Monmouth, having passed it with his whole army, was in full march to Bristol, which he determined to attack the ensuing night. But the weather proving rainy and bad, it was deemed expedient to return to Keynsham, a measure from which he expected to reap a double advantage; to procure dry and commodious quarters for the soldiery, and to lull the enemy, by a movement which bore the semblance of a retreat, into a false and delusive security. The event however did not answer his expectation, for the troops had scarcely taken up their quarters when they were disturbed by two parties of horse, who entered the town at two several places. An engagement ensued, in which Monmouth lost fourteen men, and a captain of horse, though in the end the Royalists were obliged to retire, leaving three prisoners. From these the Duke had information that the King's army was near at hand, and as they said, about four thousand strong.

Marches towards Wiltshire.

This new state of affairs seemed to demand new councils. The projected enterprize upon Bristol was laid aside, and the question was, whether to make by forced marches for Gloucester, in order to pass the Severn at that city, and so to gain the counties of Salop and Chester where he expected to be met by many friends, or to march directly into Wiltshire, where, according to some intelligence received* ["from one

* Reference is made to Adlam's intelligence, page 238. It is clear therefore that Mr. Fox had intended to name him, but as

Adlam,"] the day before, there was a considerable body of horse, (under whose command does not appear,) ready, by their junction, to afford him a most important and seasonable support. To the first of these plans, a decisive objection was stated. The distance by Gloucester was so great, that considering the slow marches to which he would be limited, by the daily attacks with which the different small bodies of the enemy's cavalry would not fail to harrass his rear, he was in great danger of being overtaken by the king's forces, and might thus be driven to risk all in an engagement upon terms the most disadvantageous. On the contrary, if joined in Wiltshire by the expected aids, he might confidently offer battle to the Royal army; and provided he could bring them to an action before they were strengthened by new reinforcements, there was no unreasonable prospect of success. The latter plan was therefore adopted, and no sooner adopted than put in execution. The army was in motion without delay, and being before Bath on the morning of the twenty-sixth of June, summoned the place, rather, (as it should seem,) in sport than in earnest, as there was no hope of its surrender. After this bravado they marched on southward to Philip's-Norton, where they rested; the horse in the town, and the foot in the field. CHAP. III. 1685.

While Monmouth was making these marches, there were not wanting in many parts of the adjacent country, strong symptoms of the attachment of the lower orders of people to his cause, and more especially in those manufacturing towns, where the Protestant dissenters were numerous. In Froome, there had been a considerable rising headed by the constable, who posted up the Duke's Declaration in the market- Insurrection at Froome suppressed. June 25.

he omitted to do so, the words between the inverted commas, have been inserted by the Editor.

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place. Many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns of Westbury and Warminster, came in throngs to the town to join the insurgents; some armed with fire-arms, but more with such rustic weapons as opportunity could supply. Such a force, if it had joined the main army, or could have been otherwise directed by any leader of judgment and authority, might have proved very serviceable; but in its present state it was a mere rabble, and upon the first appearance of the Earl of Pembroke, who entered the town with a hundred and sixty horse, and forty musqueteers, fell, as might be expected, into total confusion. The rout was complete; all the arms of the insurgents were seized; and the constable, after having been compelled to abjure his principles, and confess the enormity of his offence, was committed to prison.

Monmouth's disappointment.

This transaction took place the twenty-fifth, the day before Monmouth's arrival at Philip's-Norton, and may have, in a considerable degree, contributed to the disappointment, of which we learn from Wade, that he at this time began bitterly to complain. He was now upon the confines of Wiltshire, and near enough for the bodies of horse, upon whose favourable intentions so much reliance had been placed, to have effected a junction, if they had been so disposed; but whether that Adlam's intelligence had been originally bad, or that Pembroke's proceedings at Froome had intimidated them, no sympton of such an intention could be discovered. A desertion took place in his army, which the exaggerated accounts in the Gazette made to amount to near two thousand men. These dispiriting circumstances, added to the complete disappointment of the hopes entertained from the assumption of the royal title, produced in him a state of mind but little short of despondency. He complained that all people had deserted him, and is said to have been so

dejected, as hardly to have the spirit requisite for giving the necessary orders. CHAP. III. 1685.

From this state of torpor however, he appears to have been effectually roused, by a brisk attack that was made upon him on the twenty-seventh, in the morning, by the royalists, under the command of his half-brother, the Duke of Grafton. That spirited young nobleman, (whose intrepid courage, conspicuous upon every occasion, led him in this, and many other instances, to risk a life, which he finally lost* in a better cause,) heading an advanced detachment of Lord Faversham's army, who had marched from Bath, with a view to fall on the enemy's rear, marched boldly up a narrow lane leading to the town, and attacked a barricade, which Monmouth had caused to be made across the way, at the entrance of the town. Monmouth was no sooner apprised of this brisk attack, than he ordered a party to go out of the town by a bye-way, who coming on the rear of the grenadiers, while others of his men were engaged with their front, had nearly surrounded them, and taken their commander prisoner, but Grafton forced his way through the enemy. An engagement ensued between the insurgents and the remainder of Faversham's detachment, who lined the hedges which flanked them. The former were victorious, and after driving the enemy from hedge to hedge, forced them at last into the open field, where they joined the rest of the King's forces,

Attacked at Philip's-Norton.

The Royalists repulsed.

* At the siege of Cork in 1690. "In this action," (the taking of Cork by storm,) "the Duke of Grafton received a shot, of "which he died in a few days. He was the more lamented, as "being the person of all King Charles's children, of whom there "was the greatest hope; he was brave, and probably would have "become a great man at sea." Burnet, III. 83. He distinguished himself particularly in the action off Beachy-head that same year. Sir J. Dalrymple, II. 131. E.

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newly come up. The killed and wounded in these rencounters amounted to about forty on Faversham's side, twenty on Monmouth's; but among the latter there were several officers, and some of note, while the loss of the former, with the exception of two volunteers, Seymour and May, consisted entirely of common soldiers.

The Royalists now drew up on an eminence, about five hundred paces from the hedges, while Monmouth having placed of his four field-pieces, two at the mouth of the lane, and two upon a rising ground near it on the right, formed his army along the hedge. From these stations, a firing of artillery was begun on each side, and continued near six hours, but with little or no effect; Monmouth, according to Wade, losing but one, and the Royalists, according to the Gazatte, not one man, by the whole cannonade. In these circumstances, notwithstanding the recent and convincing experience he now had, of the ability of his raw troops, to face, in certain situations at least, the more regular forces of his enemy, Monmouth was advised by some to retreat; but, upon a more general consultation, this advice was over-ruled, and it was determined to cut passages through the hedges and to offer battle. But, before this could be effected, the royal army, not willing again to engage among the enclosures, annoyed in the open field by the rain, which continued to fall very heavily, and disappointed, no doubt, at the little effect of their artillery, began their retreat. The little confidence which Monmouth had in his horse, perhaps the ill opinion he now entertained of their leader, forbad him to think of pursuit, and having staid till a late hour in the field, and leaving large fires burning, he set out on his march in the night, and on the twenty-eighth in the morning, reached Froome, where he put his troops in quarter and rested two days.

It was here he first heard certain news of Argyle's discomfiture. It was in vain to seek for any circumstance in his affairs that might mitigate the effect of the severe blow inflicted by this intelligence, and he relapsed into the same low spirits as at Philip's-Norton. No diversion, at least no successful diversion, had been made in his favour: there was no appearance of the horse, which had been the principal motive to allure him into that part of the country; and what was worst of all, no desertion from the King's army. It was manifest, said the Duke's more timid advisers, that the affair must terminate ill, and the only measure now to be taken, was, that the General with his officers should leave the army to shift for itself, and make severally for the most convenient sea-ports, whence they might possibly get a safe passage to the continent. To account for Monmouth's entertaining even for a moment, a thought so unworthy of him, and so inconsistent with the character for spirit he had ever maintained, a character unimpeached, even by his enemies, we must recollect the unwillingness with which he undertook this fatal expedition; that his engagement to Argyle, who was now past help, was perhaps his principal motive for embarking at that time; that it was with great reluctance he had torn himself from the arms of Lady Harriet Wentworth, with whom he had so firmly persuaded himself that he could be happy in the most obscure retirement, that he believed himself weaned from ambition, which had hitherto been the only passion of his mind. It is true, that when he once yielded to the solicitations of his friends, so far as to undertake a business of such magnitude, it was his duty, (but a duty that required a stronger mind than his to execute,) to discard from his thoughts all the arguments that had rendered his compliance reluctant. But it is one of the great distinctions be-

Relapses into despondency.

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tween an ordinary mind and a superior one, to be able to carry on, without relenting, a plan we have not originally approved, and especially when it appears to have turned out ill. This proposal of disbanding was a step so pusillanimous and dishonourable, that it could not be approved by any council however composed. It was condemned by all except Colonel Venner, and was particularly inveighed against by Lord Grey, who was perhaps desirous of retrieving by bold words at least, the reputation he had lost at Bridport. It is possible too, that he might be really unconscious of his deficiency in point of personal courage till the moment of danger arrived, and even forgetful of it when it was passed. Monmouth was easily persuaded to give up a plan so uncongenial to his nature, resolved, though with little hopes of success, to remain with his army to take the chance of events, and at the worst to stand or fall with men whose attachment to him had laid him under indelible obligations.

Return to Bridgewater.

This resolution being taken, the first plan was to proceed to Warminster, but on the morning of his departure, hearing, on the one hand, that the King's troops were likely to cross his march: and on the other, being informed by a Quaker before known to the Duke, that there was a great club army, amounting to ten thousand men, ready to join his standard in the marshes to the westward, he altered his intention, and returned to Shipton-Mallet, where he rested that night, his army being in good quarters. From Shipton-Mallet he proceeded, on the first of July, to Wells, upon information that there was in that city some carriages belonging to the King's army, and ill guarded. These he found and took, and stayed that night in the town. The following day he marched towards Bridgewater, in search of the great succour he had been taught to expect; but found, of the promised ten thou-

sand men, only a hundred and sixty. The army lay that night in the field, and once again entered Bridgewater on the third of July. That the Duke's men were not yet completely dispirited or out of heart, appears from the circumstance of great numbers of them going from Bridgewater to see their friends at Taunton, and other places in the neighbourhood, and almost all returning the next day according to their promise. On the fifth an account was received of the King's army being considerably advanced, and Monmouth's first thought was to retreat from it immediately, and marching by Axbridge and Keynsham to Gloucester, to pursue the plan formerly rejected, of penetrating into the counties of Chester and Salop.

Battle of Sedgemore. July 5th.

His preparations for this march were all made, when, on the afternoon of the fifth, he learnt, more accurately than he had before done, the true situation of the royal army, and from the information now received, he thought it expedient to consult his principal officers, whether it might not be adviseable to attempt to surprise the enemy by a night attack upon their quarters. The prevailing opinion was, that if the infantry were not intrenched, the plan was worth the trial; otherwise not. Scouts were dispatched to ascertain this point, and their report being, that there was no intrenchment, an attack was resolved on. In pursuance of this resolution, at about eleven at night, the whole army was in march, Lord Grey commanding the horse, and Colonel Wade the vanguard of the foot. The Duke's orders were, that the horse should first advance, and pushing into the enemy's camp, endeavour to prevent their infantry from coming together; that the cannon should follow the horse, and the foot the cannon, and draw all up in one line, and so finish what the cavalry should have begun, before the King's horse and artillery could be got in order.

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But it was now discovered that though there were no intrenchments, there was a ditch which served as a drain to the great moor adjacent, of which no mention had been made by the scouts. To this ditch the horse under Lord Grey advanced, and no farther; and whether immediately, as according to some accounts, or after having been considerably harrassed by the enemy in their attempts to find a place to pass, according to others, quitted the field. The cavalry being gone, and the principle upon which the attack had been undertaken, being that of a surprize, the Duke judged it necessary that the infantry should advance as speedily as possible. Wade, therefore, when he came within forty paces of the ditch, was obliged to halt to put his battalion into that order, which the extreme rapidity of the march had for the time disconcerted. His plan was to pass the ditch, reserving his fire; but while he was arranging his men for that purpose, another battalion, newly come up, began to fire, though at a considerable distance; a bad example, which it was impossible to prevent the vanguard from following, and it was now no longer in the power of their commander to persuade them to advance. The King's forces, as well horse and artillery as foot, had now full time to assemble. The Duke had no longer cavalry in the field, and though his artillery, which consisted only of three or four iron guns, was well served under the direction of a Dutch gunner, it was by no means equal to that of the royal army, which, as soon as it was light, began to do great execution. In these circumstances the unfortunate Monmouth, fearful of being encompassed and made prisoner by the King's cavalry, who were approaching upon his flank, and urged, as it is reported, to flight by the same person who had stimulated him to his fatal enterprize, quitted the field, accompanied

by Lord Grey and some others. The left wing, under the command of Colonel Holmes and Matthews, next gave way, and Wade's men, after having continued for an hour and half, a distant and ineffectual fire, seeing their left discomfited began a retreat which soon afterwards became a complete rout. CHAP. III. 1685.

Thus ended the decivive battle of Sedgemore; an attack which seems to have been judiciously conceived, and in many parts spiritedly executed. The General was deficient neither in courage or conduct; and the troops, while they displayed the native bravery of Englishmen, were under as good discipline as could be expected from bodies newly raised. Two circumstances seem to have principally contributed to the loss of the day; first, the unforeseen difficulty occasioned by the ditch, of which the assailants had had no intelligence; and secondly, the cowardice of the commander of the horse. The discovery of the ditch was the more alarming, because it threw a general doubt upon the information of the spies, and the night being dark they could not ascertain that this was the only impediment of the kind which they were to expect. The dispersion of the horse was still more fatal, inasmuch as it deranged the whole order of the plan, by which it had been concerted that their operations were to facilitate the attack to be made by the foot. If Lord Grey had possessed a spirit more suitable to his birth and name, to the illustrious friendship with which he had been honored, and to the command with which he was intrusted, he would doubtless have persevered till he found a passage into the enemy's camp, which could have been effected at a ford not far distant: the loss of time occasioned by the ditch might not have been very material, and the most important consequences might have ensued; but it would surely be rashness to assert, as Hume does, that the army Cause of the defeat.

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would after all have gained the victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Grey prevented it. This rash judgment is the more to be admired at, as the historian has not pointed out the instance of misconduct to which he refers. The number of Monmouth's men killed is computed by some at two thousand, by others at three hundred; a disparity, however, which may be easily reconciled, by supposing that the one account takes in those who were killed in battle, while the other comprehends the wretched fugitives who were massacred in ditches, corn fields, and other hiding places, the following day.

The Duke's escape from the field.

In general I have thought it right to follow Wade's narrative, which appears to me by far the most authentic, if not the only authentic account of this important transaction. It is imperfect, but its imperfection arises from the narrator's omitting all those circumstances of which he was not an eye witness, and the greater credit is on that very account due to him for those which he relates. With respect to Monmouth's quitting the field, it is not mentioned by him, nor is it possible to ascertain the precise point of time at which it happened. That he fled while his troops were still fighting, and therefore too soon for his glory, can scarcely be doubted; and the account given by Ferguson, whose veracity however is always to be suspected, that Lord Grey urged him to the measure, as well by peruasion as by example, seems not improbable. The misbehaviour of the last mentioned nobleman is more certain; but as, according to Ferguson, who has been followed by others, he actually conversed with Monmouth in the field, and as all accounts make him the companion of his flight, it is not to be understood that when he first gave way with his cavalry, he ran away in the literal sense of the words, or if he did he must have returned. The exact truth,

with regard to this and many other interesting particulars, is difficult to be discovered; owing, not more to the darkness of the night in which they were transacted, than to the personal partialities and enmities by which they have been disfigured, in the relations of the different contemporary writers.

Discovered, and taken.

Monmouth with his suite first directed his course towards the Bristol-channel, and as is related by Oldmixon, was once inclined, at the suggestion of Dr. Oliver, a faithful and honest adviser, to embark for the coast of Wales, with a view of concealing himself some time in that principality. Lord Grey, who appears to have been, in all instances, his evil genius, dissuaded him from this plan, and the small party having separated, took each several ways. Monmouth, Grey, and a gentleman of Brandenburg, went southward, with a view to gain the New Forest in Hampshire, where, by means of Grey's connections in that district, and thorough knowledge of the country, it was hoped they might be in safety, till a vessel could be procured to transport them to the continent. They left their horses, and disguised themselves as peasants; but the pursuit, stimulated as well by party zeal, as by the great pecuniary rewards offered for the capture of Monmouth and Grey, was too vigilant to be eluded. Grey was taken on the 7th in the evening; and the German, who shared the same fate early on the next morning, confessed that he had parted from Monmouth but a few hours since. The neighbouring country was immediately and thoroughly searched, and James had ere night the satisfaction of learning, that his nephew was in his power.

The situation in which he was found.

The unfortunate Duke was discovered in a ditch, half concealed by fern and nettles. His stock of provision, which consisted of some peas gathered in the fields through which he had fled, was nearly exhaust-

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ed, and there is reason to think, that he had little, if any other sustenance, since he left Bridgewater on the evening of the 5th. To repose he had been equally a stranger: how his mind must have been harassed, it is needless to discuss. Yet that in such circumstances he appeared dispirited and crest-fallen, is, by the unrelenting malignity of party writers, imputed to him as cowardice, and meanness of spirit. That the failure of his enterprize, together with the bitter reflection, that he had suffered himself to be engaged in it against his own better judgment, joined to the other calamitous circumstances of his situation, had reduced him to a state of despondency is evident; and in this frame of mind, he wrote on the very day of his capture, the following letter to the King:

"SIR,

"Your Majesty may think it the misfortune I now "lie under, makes me make this application to you; "but I do assure your Majesty, it is the remorse I "now have in me of the wrong I have done you in "several things, and now in taking up arms against "you. For my taking up arms, it was never in my "thoughts since the King died: The Prince and "Princess of Orange will be witness for me of the "assurance I gave them, that I would never stir "against you. But my misfortune was such, as to "meet with some horrid people, that made me be-"lieve things of your Majesty, and gave me so many "false arguments, that I was fully led away to be-"lieve, that it was a shame and a sin before God, not "to do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty "at present with many things I could say for myself, "that I am sure would move your compassion; the "chief end of this letter being only to beg of you, "that I may have that happiness as to speak to your

" Majesty; for I have that to say to you, Sir, that I " hope may give you a long and happy reign.

" I am sure, Sir, when you hear me, you will be " convinced of the zeal I have of your preservation, " and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I " can say no more to your Majesty now, being this " letter must be seen by those that keep me. There- " fore, Sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your " Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would " rather die a thousand deaths, than excuse any thing " I have done, if I did not really think myself the " most in the wrong that ever a man was; and had " not from the bottom of my heart an abhorrence for " those that put me upon it, and for the action itself. " I hope, Sir, God Almighty will strike your heart " with mercy and compassion for me, as he has done " mine with abhorrence of what I have done: " Wherefore, Sir, I hope I may live to shew you how " zealous I shall ever be for your service; and could " I but say one word in this letter, you would be con- " vinced of it; but it is of that consequence, that I " dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you " once more to let me speak to you; for then you " will be convinced how much I shall ever be,

" Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful,

" MONMOUTH."

The only certain conclusion to be drawn from this letter, which Mr. Echard, in a manner perhaps not so seemly for a churchman, terms submissive,* is, that Monmouth still wished anxiously for life, and was willing to save it, even at the cruel price of begging and receiving it as a boon from his enemy. Ralph

* Echard, p. 771. " His former spirit sunk into pusillanimity, " and he meanly endeavoured, by the following submissive let- " ter," &c. E.

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conjectures with great probability, that this unhappy man's feelings were all governed by his excessive affection for his mistress; and that a vain hope of enjoying, with Lady Harriet Wentworth, that retirement which he had so unwillingly abandoned, induced him to adopt a conduct, which he might otherwise have considered as indecent. At any rate it must be admitted, that to cling to life, is a strong instinct in human nature, and Monmouth might reasonably enough satisfy himself, that when his death could not by any possibility, benefit either the public or his friends, to follow such instinct, even in a manner that might tarnish the splendor of heroism, was no impeachment of the moral virtue of a man.

A mysterious expression in his letter.

With respect to the mysterious part of the letter, where he speaks of *one word*, which would be of such infinite importance, it is difficult, if not rather utterly impossible, to explain it by any rational conjecture. Mr. Macpherson's favourite hypothesis, that the Prince of Orange had been a party to the late attempt, and that Monmouth's intention, when he wrote the letter, was to disclose this important fact to the King,* is totally destroyed by those expressions, in which the unfortunate prisoner tells his Majesty he had assured the Prince and Princess of Orange that he would never stir against him. Did he assure the Prince of Orange that he would never do that which he was engaged to the Prince of Orange to do? Can it be said that this was a false fact, and that no such assurances were in truth given? To what purpose was the falsehood? In order to conceal, from motives whether honourable or otherwise, his connection with the Prince? What? a fiction in one paragraph of the letter in order to conceal a fact, which in the next he

Not applicable to the Prince of Orange.

* Macpherson's History.

declares his intention of revealing? The thing is impossible.* CHAP. III. 1685.

The intriguing character of the secretary of state, the Earl of Sunderland, whose duplicity in many instances cannot be doubted, and the mystery in which almost every thing relating to him is involved, might lead us to suspect that the expressions point at some discovery in which that nobleman was concerned; and that Monmouth had it in his power to be of important service to James, by revealing to him the treachery of his minister. Such a conjuncture might be strengthened by an anecdote that has had some currency, and to the truth of which in part, King James's memoirs, if the extracts from them can be relied on, bear testimony. It is said that the Duke of Monmouth told Mr. Ralph Sheldon, one of the King's chamber who came to meet him on his way to London, that he had had reason to expect Sunderland's co-operation, and authorized Sheldon to mention this to the King: that while Sheldon was relating this to his Majesty, Sunderland entered, Sheldon hesitated, but was ordered to go on. "Sunderland seemed at first struck," (as well he might whether innocent or guilty,) "but after a short time, said with a laugh, "if that be all he, (Monmouth,) can discover to save "his life, it will do him little good." † It is to be remarked that in Sheldon's conversation, as alluded to by King James, the Prince of Orange's name is not

* Even if this complete refutation were wanting, the whole sytem of conduct imputed to the Prince of Orange by the above mentioned author, by which he is made to act in concert with Monmouth at this time, is so contrary to common sense, that the hypothesis never could have been offered to the belief of mankind by one whose mind was not fortified by some previous experience of their unbounded credulity.

† Macpherson's State Papers, I. 146.

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even mentioned, either as connected with Monmouth or with Sunderland. But on the other hand, the difficulties that stand in the way of our interpreting Monmouth's letter as alluding to Sunderland, or of supposing that the writer of it had any well founded accusation against that minister, are insurmountable. If he had such an accusation to make, why did he not make it? The king says expressly, both in a letter to the Prince of Orange, and in the extract from his memoirs, above cited, that Monmouth made no discovery of consequence, and the explanation suggested, that his silence was owing to Sunderland the secretary's having assured him of his pardon, seems wholly inadmissible. Such assurances could have their influence no longer than while the hope of pardon remained. Why then did he continue silent, when he found James inexorable? If he was willing to accuse the Earl before he had received these assurances, it is inconceivable that he should have any scruple about doing it when they turned out to have been delusive, and when his mind must have been exasperated by the reflection that Sunderland's perfidious promises and self-interested suggestions, had deterred him from the only probable means of saving his life.

A third explanation

A third, and perhaps the most plausible, interpretation of the words in question is, that they point to a discovery of Monmouth's friends in England, when, in the dejected state of his mind, at the time of writing, unmanned as he was by misfortune, he might sincerely promise what the return of better thoughts forbade him to perform. This account, however, though free from the great absurdities belonging to the two others, is by no means satisfactory. The phrase, "one word," seems to relate rather to some single person, or some single fact, and can hardly apply to any list of associates that might be intended to be sacrificed,

On the other hand, the single denunciation of Lord Delamere, of Lord Brandon, or even of the Earl of Devonshire, or of any other private individual, could not be considered as of that extreme consequence, which Monmouth attaches to his promised disclosure, I have mentioned Lord Devonshire, who was certainly not implicated in the enterprize, and who was not even suspected, because it appears from Grey's Narrative, that one of Monmouth's agents had once given hopes of his support; and therefore there is a bare possibility that Monmouth may have reckoned upon his assistance. Perhaps, after all, the letter has been canvassed with too much nicety, and the words of it weighed more scrupulously, than, proper allowance being made for the situation and state of mind of the writer, they ought to have been. They may have been thrown out at hazard, merely as means to obtain an interview, of which the unhappy prisoner thought he might, in some way or other, make his advantage. If any more precise meaning existed in his mind, we must be content to pass it over as one of those obscure points of history, upon which, neither the sagacity of historians, nor the many documents since made public, nor the great discoverer, Time, has yet thrown any distinct light.

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not satisfactory.

Monmouth and Grey were now to be conveyed to London, for which purpose they set out on the 11th, and arrived in the vicinity of the metropolis on the 13th of July. In the mean while, the Queen Dowager, who seems to have behaved with a uniformity of kindness towards her husband's son that does her great honour, urgently pressed the King to admit his nephew to an audience. Importuned therefore by intreaties, and instigated by the curiosity which Monmouth's mysterious expressions, and Sheldon's story had excited, he consented, though with a fixed deter-

Unfeeling disposition of James

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mination to show no mercy. James was not of the number of those, in whom the want of an extensive understanding is compensated by a delicacy of sentiment, or by those right feelings which are often found to be better guides for the conduct, than the most accurate reasoning. His nature did not revolt, his blood did not run cold, at the thoughts of beholding the son of a brother whom he had loved, embracing his knees, petitioning, and petitioning in vain, for life; of interchanging words and looks with a nephew on whom he was inexorably determined, within forty eight short hours, to inflict an ignominious death.

In Macpherson's extract from King James's Memoirs, it is confessed that the King ought not to have seen, if he was not disposed to pardon the culprit;* but whether the observation is made by the exiled Prince himself, or by him who gives the extract, is in this, as in many other passages of those Memoirs, difficult to determine. Surely if the King had made this reflection before Monmouth's execution, it must have occurred to that Monarch, that if he had inadvertently done that which he ought not to have done without an intention to pardon, the only remedy was to correct that part of his conduct which was still in his power, and since he could not recall the interview, to grant the pardon.

His interview with Monmouth. July 13th.

Pursuant to this hard-hearted arrangement, Monmouth and Grey, on the very day of their arrival, were brought to Whitehall, where they had severally interviews with his Majesty. James, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated the following day, gives a short account of both these interviews. Monmouth, he says, betrayed a weakness, which did not become one who had claimed the title of King; but made no

* Macpherson's State Papers, I. 144.

discovery of consequence. Grey was more ingenuous,* (it is not certain in what sense his Majesty uses the term, since he does not refer to any discovery made by that Lord,) and never once begged his life. Short as this account is, it seems the only authentic one of those interviews. Bishop Kennet, who has been followed by most of the modern historians, relates that "This unhappy captive, by the intercession of the "Queen Dowager, was brought to the King's pre- "sence, and fell presently at his feet, and confessed "he deserved to die; but conjured him with tears in "his eyes, not to use him with the severity of justice, "and to grant him a life, which he would be ever "ready to sacrifice for his service. He mentioned to "him the example of several great Princes, who had "yielded to the impressions of clemency on the like "occasions, and who had never afterwards repented "of those acts of generosity and mercy; concluding, "in a most pathetical manner, Remember, Sir, I am "your brother's son, and if you take my life, it is "your own blood that you will shed. The King ask- "ed him several questions, and made him sign a de- "claration that his father told him he was never mar- "ried to his mother: and then said, he was sorry "indeed for his misfortunes; but his crime was of too "great a consequence to be left unpunished, and he "must of necessity suffer for it. The Queen is said "to have insulted him in a very arrogant and unmer- "ciful manner. So that when the Duke saw there "was nothing designed by this interview, but to sa- "tisfy the Queen's revenge, he rose up from his Ma- "jesty's feet with a new air of bravery, and was carri- "ed back to the Tower." †

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* Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 134.

† Kennet, III. 432. Echard, III. 771.

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The topics used by Monmouth are such as he might naturally have employed, and the demeanor attributed to him, upon finding the King inexorable, is consistent enough with general probability, and his particular character: but that the King took care to extract from him a confession of Charles's declaration with respect to his illegitimacy, before he announced his final refusal of mercy, and that the Queen was present for the purpose of reviling and insulting him, are circumstances too attrocious to merit belief, without some more certain evidence. It must be remarked also, that Burnet, whose general prejudices would not lead him to doubt any imputations against the Queen, does not mention her Majesty's being present. Monmouth's offer of changing religion is mentioned by him, but no authority quoted; and no hint of the kind appears either in James's Letters, or in the extract from his Memoirs.

Monmouth's execution fixed.

From Whitehall Monmouth was at night carried to the Tower, where, no longer uncertain as to his fate, he seems to have collected his mind, and to have resumed his wonted fortitude. The Bill of Attainder that had lately passed, having superseded the necessity of a legal trial, his execution was fixed for the next day but one after his commitment. This interval appeared too short even for the worldly business which he wished to transact, and he wrote again to the King, on the 14th, desiring some short respite, which was peremptorily refused. The difficulty of obtaining any certainty concerning facts, even in instances where there has not been any apparent motive for disguising them, is no where more striking, than in the few remaining hours of this unfortunate man's life. According to king James's statement in his Memoirs, he refused to see his wife, while other accounts assert positively that she refused to see him, unless in

presence of witnesses. Burnet, who was not likely to be mistaken in a fact of this kind, says they did meet, and parted very coldly, a circumstance, which, if true, gives us no very favourable idea of the lady's character. There is also mention of a third letter written by him to the King, which being entrusted to a perfidious officer of the name of Scott, never reached its destination;* but for this there is no foundation. What seems most certain is, that in the Tower, and not in the closet, he signed a paper, renouncing his pretensions to the crown, the same which he afterwards delivered on the scaffold; and that he was inclined to make this declaration, not by any vain hope of life, but by his affection for his children, whose situation he rightly judged would be safer and better under the reigning monarch and his successors, when it should be evident that they could no longer be competitors for the throne.

His preparations for death.

Monmouth was very sincere in his religious professions, and it is probable that a great portion of this sad day was passed in devotion and religious discourse with the two prelates, who had been sent by his Majesty to assist him in his spiritual concerns. Turner, Bishop of Ely, had been with him early in the morning, and Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was sent, upon the refusal of a respite, to prepare him for the stroke, which it was now irrevocably fixed he should suffer the ensuing day. They stayed with him all night, and in the morning of the fifteenth were joined by Dr. Hooper, afterwards in the reign of Anne, made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and by Dr. Tennison, who succeeded Tillotson in the see of Canterbury. This last divine is stated by Burnet to have been most acceptable to the Duke, and though he joined

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, I. 127.

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the others in some harsh expostulations, to have done what the right reverend historian conceives to have been his duty, in a softer and less peremptory manner. Certain it is that none of these holy men seem to have erred on the side of compassion or complaisance to their illustrious penitent. Besides endeavouring to convince him of the guilt of his connection with his beloved Lady Harriet, of which he could never be brought to a due sense, they seem to have repeatedly teased him with controversy, and to have been far more solicitous to make him profess what they deemed the true creed of the church of England, than to soften or console his sorrows, or to help him to that composure of mind so necessary for his situation. He declared himself to be a member of their church, but they denied that he could be so, unless he thoroughly believed the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. He repented generally of his sins, and especially of his late enterprize, but they insisted that he must repent of it in the way they prescribed to him, that he must own it to have been a wicked resistance to his lawful king, and a detestable act of rebellion.* Some historians have imputed this seemingly cruel conduct to the King's particular instructions, who might be desirous of extracting, or rather extorting, from the lips of his dying nephew, such a confession as would be matter of triumph to the royal cause. But the character of the two prelates principally concerned, both for general uprightness, and sincerity as church of England men, makes it more candid to suppose, that they did not act from motives of servile compliance, but rather from an intemperate party zeal for the honour of their church, which they judged would be signally promoted, if such a man as

* Burnet, II. 330. Echard III. 772.

Monmouth, after having throughout his life acted in defiance of their favourite doctrine, could be brought in his last moments to acknowledge it as a divine truth. It must never be forgotten, if we would understand the history of this period, that the truly orthodox members of our church regarded monarchy not as a human, but as a divine institution, and passive obedience, and non-resistance, not as political maxims, but as articles of religion. CHAP. III. 1685.

Circumstances of his execution.

At ten o'clock on the 15th, Monmouth proceeded in a carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower, to Tower Hill, the place destined for his execution. The two bishops were in the carriage with him, and one of them took that opportunity of informing him, that their controversial altercations were not yet at an end; and that upon the scaffold, he would again be pressed for more explicit and satisfactory declarations of repentance. When arrived at the bar, which had been put up for the purpose of keeping out the multitude, Monmouth descended from the carriage, and mounted the scaffold, with a firm step, attended by his spiritual assistants. The sheriffs and executioners were already there. The concourse of spectators was innumerable, and if we are to credit traditional accounts, never was the general compassion more affectingly expressed. The tears, sighs, and groans, which the first sight of this heart-rending spectacle produced, were soon succeeded by an universal and awful silence; a respectful attention, and affectionate anxiety, to hear every syllable that should pass the lips of the sufferer. The Duke began by saying he should speak little; he came to die, and he should die a Protestant of the church of England.

Persecuted by his religious assistants.

Here he was interrupted by the assistants, and told, that, if he was of the church of England, he must acknowledge the doctrine of Non-resistance to be true.

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In vain did he reply that if he acknowledged the doctrine of the church in general, it included all: they insisted he should own *that* doctrine particularly with respect to his case, and urged much more concerning their favourite point, upon which, however, they obtained nothing but a repetition in substance of former answers. He was then proceeding to speak of Lady Harriet Wentworth, of his high esteem for her, and of his confirmed opinion that their connection was innocent in the sight of God; when Goslin, the sheriff, asked him, with all the unfeeling bluntness of a vulgar mind, whether he was ever married to her. The Duke refusing to answer, the same magistrate, in the like strain, though changing his subject, said he hoped to have heard of his repentance for the treason and bloodshed which had been committed; to which the prisoner replied with great mildness, that he died very penitent. Here the churchmen again interposed, and renewing their demand of *particular* penitence and *public* acknowledgment upon public affairs, Monmouth referred them to the following paper which he had signed that morning:

"I declare, that the title of King was forced upon "me; and, that it was very much contrary to my opi- "nion, when I was proclaimed. For the satisfaction "of the world, I do declare, that the late King told "me, he was never married to my mother. Having "declared this, I hope the King, who is now, will not "let my children suffer on this account. And to this "I put my hand this fifteenth day of July, 1685.

"MONMOUTH."

There was nothing, they said, in that paper about resistance; nor, though Monmouth, quite worn out with their importunities, said to one of them, in a most affecting manner, "I am to die,—Pray my Lord,—

" I refer to my paper," would these men think it consistent with their duty to desist. They were only a few words they desired on one point. The substance of these applications on one hand, and answers on the other, was repeated, over and over again, in a manner that could not be believed, if the facts were not attested by the signature of the persons principally concerned.* If the Duke, in declaring his sorrow for what had passed, used the word invasion, " give it " the true name," said they, " and call it rebellion." " What name you please," replied the mild-tempered Monmouth. He was sure he was going to everlasting happiness, and considered the serenity of his mind in his present circumstances, as a certain earnest of the favour of his Creator. His repentance, he said, must be true for he had no fear of dying, he should die like a lamb. " Much may come from na- " tural courage," was the unfeeling and stupid reply of one of the assistants. Monmouth, with that modesty inseparable from true bravery, denied that he was in general less fearful than other men, maintaining that his present courage was owing to his consciousness that God had forgiven him his past transgressions, of all which generally he repented with all his soul. CHAP. III. 1685.

At last the reverend assistants consented to join with him in prayer, but no sooner were they risen from their kneeling posture, than they returned to their charge. Not satisfied with what had passed, they exhorted him, to a *true* and *thorough* repentance; would he not pray for the King? and send a dutiful message to his Majesty, to recommend the Dutchess and his children? " As you please;" was the reply, " I pray for him and for all men." He now spoke

* Vide Somers's Tracts. I. 435.

CHAP. III. 1685. to the executioner, desiring that he might have no cap over his eyes, and began undressing. One would have thought that in this last sad ceremony, the poor prisoner might have been unmolested, and that the divines would have been satisfied, that prayer was the only part of their function for which their duty now called upon them. They judged differently, and one of them had the fortitude to request the Duke, even in this stage of the business, that he would address himself to the soldiers then present, to tell them he stood a sad example of rebellion, and entreat the people to be loyal and obedient to the King, "I have "said I will make no speeches," repeated Monmouth, in a tone more peremptory than he had before been provoked to; "I will make no speeches. I come "to die." "My Lord, ten words will be enough," said the persevering divine, to which the Duke made no answer, but turning to the executioner, expressed a hope that he would do his work better now than in the case of Lord Russel. He then felt the axe, which he apprehended was not sharp enough, but being assured that it was of proper sharpness and weight, he laid down his head. In the meantime, many fervent ejaculations were used by the reverend assistants, who, it must be observed, even in these moments of horror, showed themself not unmindful of the points upon which they had been disputing; praying God to accept his *imperfect* and *general* repentance.

The executioner now struck the blow, but so feebly or unskilfully, that Monmouth being but slightly wounded, lifted up his head, and looked him in the face as if to upbraid him, but said nothing. The two following strokes were as ineffectual as the first, and the headsman in a fit of horror, declared he could not finish his work. The sheriffs threatened him; he was

forced again to make a further trial, and in two more strokes separated the head from the body. CHAP. III. 1685.

Thus fell, in thirty-sixth year of his age, James, Duke of Monmouth, a man against whom all that has been said by the most inveterate enemies both to him and his party, amounts to little more than this, that he had not a mind equal to the situation in which his ambition, at different times, engaged him to place himself. But to judge him with candor, we must make great allowances, not only for the temptations into which he was led by the splendid prosperity of the earlier parts of his life, but also for the adverse prejudices with which he was regarded by almost all the contemporary writers from whom his actions and character are described. The Tories of course are unfavorable to him; and even among the Whigs, there seems, in many, a strong inclination to disparage him; some to excuse themselves for not having joined him; others to make a display of their exclusive attachment to their more successful leader, King William. Burnet says of Monmouth, that he was gentle, brave, and sincere: to these praises, from the united testimony of all who knew him, we may add that of generosity, and surely those qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and estimable in human nature. One of the most conspicuous features in his character, seems to have been a remarkable, and as some think, a culpable degree of flexibility. That such a disposition is preferable to its opposite extreme, will be admitted by all who think that modesty, even in excess, is more nearly allied to wisdom than conceit and self-sufficiency. He who has attentively considered the political, or indeed the general, concerns of life, may possibly go still further, and rank a willingness to be convinced, or in some cases even without conviction, to concede our own opinion to that of

Character of Monmouth.

CHAP. III. 1685.

other men, among the principal ingredients in the composition of practical wisdom. Monmouth had suffered this flexibility, so laudable in many cases, to degenerate into a habit, which made him often follow the advice, or yield to the entreaties, of persons whose characters by no means entitled them to such deference. The sagacity of Shaftesbury, the honour of Russel, the genius of Sidney, might in the opinion of a modest man, be safe and eligible guides. The partiality of friendship, and the conviction of his firm attachment, might be some excuse for his listening so much to Grey; but he never could, at any period of his life, have mistaken Ferguson for an honest man. There is reason to believe that the advice of the two last mentioned persons had great weight in persuading him to the unjustifiable step of declaring himself King. But far the most guilty act of this unfortuate man's life, was his lending his name to the Declaration which was published at Lyme, and in this instance, Ferguson, who penned the paper, was both the adviser and the instrument. To accuse the King of having burnt London, murdered Essex in the Tower, and finally, poisoned his brother, unsupported by evidence to substantiate such dreadful charges, was calumny of the most atrocious kind; but the guilt is still heightened, when we observe, that from no conversation of Monmouth, nor indeed from any other circumstance whatever, do we collect that he himself believed the horrid accusations to be true. With regard to Essex's death in particular, the only one of the three charges which was believed by any man of common sense, the late King was as much implicated in the suspicion as James. That the latter should have dared to be concerned in such an act without the privacy of his brother, was too absurd an imputation to be attempted, even in the days of the Popish plot. On the other

hand, it was certainly not the intention of the son to brand his father as an assassin. It is too plain, that in the instance of this Declaration, Monmouth, with a facility highly criminal, consented to set his name to whatever Ferguson recommended as advantageous to the cause. Among the many dreadful circumstances attending civil wars, perhaps there are few more revolting to a good mind, than the wicked calumnies with which, in the heat of contention, men, otherwise men of honour, have in all ages and countries permitted themselves to load their adversaries. It is remarkable that there is no trace of the Divines who attended this unfortunate man, having exhorted him to a particular repentance of his Manifesto, or having called for a retraction or disavowal of the accusations contained in it. They were so intent upon points more immediately connected with orthodoxy of faith, that they omitted pressing their penitent to the only declaration, by which he could make any satisfactory atonement to those whom he had injured.

FRAGMENTS.

The following detached paragraphs were probably intended for the Fourth Chapter. They are here printed in the incomplete and unfinished state in which they were found.

1685. WHILE the Whigs considered all religious opinions with a view to politics, the Tories, on the other hand, referred all political maxims to religion. Thus the former, even in their hatred to Popery, did not so much regard the superstition, or imputed idolatry of that unpopular sect, as its tendency to establish arbitrary power in the state, while the latter revered absolute monarchy as a divine institution, and cherished the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, as articles of religious faith.

To mark the importance of the late events, his Majesty caused two medals to be struck; one of himself, with the usual inscription, and the motto, *Aras et sceptra tuemur;* the other of Monmouth, without any inscription. On the reverse of the former, were represented the two headless trunks of his lately vanquished enemies, with other circumstances in the same taste and spirit, the motto, *Ambitio malesuada ruit:* on that of the latter appeared a young man falling in the attempt to climb a rock with three crowns on it, under which was the insulting motto, *Superi risere.*

With the lives of Monmouth and Argyle ended, or at least seemed to end, all prospect of resistance to James's absolute power; and that class of patriots who feel the pride of submission, and the dignity of obe-

dience, might be completely satisfied that the Crown was in its full lustre. 1685.

James was sufficiently conscious of the increased strength of his situation, and it is probable that the security he now felt in his power, inspired him with the design of taking more decided steps in favour of the Popish religion and its professors, than his connexion with the Church of England party had before allowed him to entertain. That he from this time attached less importance to the support and affection of the Tories, is evident from Lord Rochester's observations, communicated afterwards to Burnet. This nobleman's abilities and experience in business, his hereditary merit, as son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and his uniform opposition to the Exclusion Bill, had raised him high in the esteem of the Church party. This circumstance, perhaps, as much, or more than the King's personal kindness to a brother-in-law, had contributed to his advancement to the first office in the state. As long therefore as James stood in need of the support of the party, as long as he meant to make them the instruments of his power, and the channels of his favour, Rochester was, in every respect, the fittest person in whom to confide; and accordingly, as that nobleman related to Burnet, his Majesty honoured him with daily confidential communications upon all his most secret schemes and projects. But upon the defeat of the rebellion, an immediate change took place, and from the day of Monmouth's execution, the King confined his conversations with the Treasurer to the mere business of his office.



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II. Correspondence between the Earl of Sunderland and the Bishop of Oxford respecting Mr. Locke.

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APPENDIX.

I. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LOUIS XIV. AND M. BARILLON.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

December 7th, 1684, at London.

I RECEIVED your Majesty's dispatch of December the first. I have begun the execution of the order which your Majesty gives me concerning my Lord Halifax. There happened here, not long since, an affair, which has already given an opportunity to the Duke of York and the other ministers of taking active measures for entirely discrediting him, and with some hope of success.

The King of England gave the government of New England to Colonel Kirk, who had been previously governor of Tangier. King James had before that established by letters patent, there, a company which, with an almost Sovereign and independent authority governed the countries comprized under the government of New England. The privileges of that company were annulled in the King's bench; and his Britannic Majesty became repossessed of the power to give the government a new form, and to establish new laws, under which the inhabitants of those countries are henceforth to live. This occasioned a deliberation in the privy council. It was carefully investigated whether the same government which is established in England

should be introduced there, or whether the inhabitants of those regions should be subjected to the orders of a governor and council who should possess all the authority, without being bound to observe any other rules but those which should be prescribed to them from hence. My Lord Halifax chose to maintain with vehemence that it was unquestionable, the same laws under which they live in England ought to be established in a country inhabited by Englishmen. He expatiated at full length on this head, and forgot not one of those reasons which are calculated to prove that an absolute government is neither so happy nor so stable as that which is tempered by laws and sets bounds to the authority of the prince. He exaggerated the inconveniences of the Sovereign power, and plainly declared that he could never like to live under a King who should have it in his power to take at pleasure the money out of his pocket. This discourse was strongly withstood by all the other ministers, and without examining the question whether one form of government in general is better than another, they maintained that his Britannic Majesty could and ought to govern countries, so far distant from England, in the way which should appear to him best calculated to maintain the country in the state in which it is, and to augment its forces and wealth. It was, therefore, resolved, that the Governor and council should not be subjected to convene assemblies of the whole country in order to lay taxes and regulate other important matters, but that the governor and council should act as they should deem it proper, being accountable only to his Britannic Majesty. This business is perhaps not very important in itself; but the Duke of York availed himself of it to show the King of England how inconvenient it is to retain in the

secrets of his affairs a man so much opposed to the interests of royalty as my Lord Halifax. The Lady Portsmouth has the same design, and my Lord Sunderland could not desire any thing more eagerly. They both think they can succeed in a little time.

The Duke of York confidently told me that the King his brother had determined to send him, next spring, to Scotland on a journey of three weeks in order to convene the parliament there, without which the estates of those who are declared rebels cannot be confiscated; that his journey will last nearly as long as the court remains at New-market, that meanwhile he thought he ought to give me early information thereof, well knowing that his enemies would endeavour to give this journey an air of disgrace, though at the bottom, it is a new mark of the confidence and friendship the King his brother has for him. The Marquis of Huntley, chief of the house of Gordon, has been made a Duke, and the Marquis of Queensberry likewise; This latter is of the house of Douglas, and great treasurer of Scotland. It is not a matter of little consequence that the Marquis of Huntley who is a Catholic has been made a Duke.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, December 13, 1684.

The reasonings of Lord Halifax, on the manner of governing New-England, little deserve the confidence which the King of England places in him, and I am not surprized to hear that the Duke of York called the King his brother's attention to the consequences thereof. I am also induced to think, that what that prince is to do in Scotland, will not change at all the situation of affairs in England,

and I am glad to know that it is rather a mark of the confidence which the King his brother has in him, than a design to remove him from his councils.

London, 21st December, 1684.

* Barillon says, the Dutches of Portsmouth tells him the King waited till Halifax gave him some further pretext, for dismissing him, but that he represented to them the danger of delay. They had no apprehensions of Halifax's altering his conduct, and regaining the King's confidence.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

25th December, 1684, at London.

The King of England seems to me to be as ill pleased as he ever was with the Prince of Orange's conduct. M. Zitters handed the former a letter from the latter, by which he assures him in general terms, that he considers himself as very unhappy for having lost his favour, well knowing that he had done nothing that ought to displease him. M. Zitters added thereto, that the Prince of Orange was very much grieved that his enemies had been able to prepossess his Britannic Majesty's mind to such a degree against him, though his conscience does not upbraid him with having done any thing that could be against his wishes or intentions. The King of England gave me to understand, his answer to M. Zitters was, that the Prince of Orange made a fool of him as well as M. Zitters, by charging him to say things which he knows to have no foundation at all; that the Prince of Orange had no enemies at his court who could take an interest in injuring him, but that he had himself done every thing in his power to effect it, since he

* This is printed from a note in Mr. Fox's hand writing.

had conducted himself in a manner quite opposite to what he ought to have done both with respect to general affairs, and with regard to the Duke of Monmouth and other ring-leaders. M. Zitters tried to excuse what the Prince of Orange had done with respect to the Duke of Monmouth: His Britannic Majesty spurned it and told him that the Prince of Orange was more skilful than any body else, since he could use so gently, a man whose designs could aim at nothing less than establishing a republic in England, or maintaining chimerical pretensions which could not succeed without ruining the Prince of Orange himself. The King of England's intention was, according to my judgment, to cut still shorter his conversation with M. Zitters; but this is not congenial to his humour. The Duke of York spoke to M. Zitters in a very decisive manner, and gave him no room to defend the Prince of Orange's conduct. M. Zitters told my Lord Sunderland, the Prince of Orange would do every thing in his power to regain the good graces of the King of England and of the Duke of York. That it required only to be made known to him what he ought to do for that purpose; My Lord Sunderland answered, that it was not from hence he ought to wait for instructions, and that he knew well enough what part of his conduct might have displeased the King of England, in order to change it, if he was disposed to do so.

I have been informed by the Duke of York, that my Lord Sunderland, when speaking of these matters with the King of England and his most confidential ministers, had said that his Britannic Majesty's dignity and interest requires him to suffer the prince of Orange to take of himself the resolution which he shall think proper, without prescribing any thing to him, nay, even without shewing

him that any thing is expected of him, that after having for three years past, done every thing in his power against the interests and designs of the King of England, he ought not to think that what he has done was to be atoned for by compliments; that at present it is impossible to point out wherein he could show his good will and zeal; that much time, perhaps, is requisite to find fit opportunities for doing so, and that all he can hope for is, that the King of England will please to consider what will henceforth be his behaviour; that meanwhile M. Zitters ought to be spoken to on such subjects in as short and decisive a way as possible. This advice was approved of by his Britannic Majesty, and it was resolved, that M. Zitters should not even be listened to, if he should speak any more about it.

There has been these two days a great talk here about the sedition that took place at Brussels, and the manner in which it was suppressed by the Marquis of Grave, that is, by granting every thing to the people. The king of England spoke of it as an example of a very pernicious tendency, and which would unquestionably induce the other cities in the Netherlands to do the same thing, seeing that at Brussels, it remains unpunished and rewarded.

M. BARILLON'S DISPATCH TO THE KING.

It is merely to give your Majesty an account of the most important events that took place on the death of the late King of England, that I do myself the honour to address the present letter to your Majesty. His sickness which began on Monday morning the 12th of February, underwent divers changes during the following days; sometimes he was thought to be out of danger, and then some accident happened which induced a belief his illness was mor-

tal; at length on Thursday the fifteenth of February, about noon, I was informed from a creditable quarter, there was no longer any hope, and that the physicians believed he could not survive the night; immediately afterwards I went to Whitehall; the Duke of York had given orders to the officers who guarded the door of the antichamber to let me pass at any hour; he was always in the King his brother's room, and left it now and then to give his orders concerning every thing that happened in the city; a report was spread more than once during the day, that the King was dead: as soon as I had arrived, the Duke of York told me "The physicians believed the King to be very dangerously ill; I beseech you to assure your master that he shall always have in me a faithful and grateful servant."

I was till five o'clock in the King of England's antichamber; the Duke of York called me several times into the room, and spoke to me of what was going on without doors, and of the assurances which were given him from all sides, that all was very quiet in the city, and that he would be proclaimed King there as soon as the King his brother should be dead. I went out for some time and repaired to the Lady Portsmouth's apartment; I found her in extreme grief; the physicians had bereft her of every kind of hope, yet instead of talking to me of her grief and of the loss she was about to sustain, she went into a little closet and said to me "Ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be forfeited if it was known: the King of England is at the bottom of his heart a Catholic, but he is surrounded with the protestant bishops, and nobody either tells him in what condition he is, or speaks to him of God. Decency forbids me from entering his chamber, besides the Queen is al-

most continually there; the Duke of York thinks of his own affairs and is too busy to take due care of the King's conscience: go and tell him that I entreated you to warn him that he ought to think of what may be done to save the King's soul; he is master in the room, he can bid whom he pleases go out; don't lose any time; for if you delay ever so little, it will be too late."

I returned that very instant to the Duke of York, I besought him to appear as if he went to the Queen who had left the King's room and had just been bled because she had fallen into a swoon: the room communicates with both apartments; I followed him to the Queen, and told him what the Lady Portsmouth had said to me. He recovered, as it were, from a profound reverie, and told me "you are right; there is no time to be lost, I shall venture every thing rather than not discharge my duty on this occasion." One hour after he returned to me, still under the pretence of going to the Queen, and told me, he had spoken to the King his brother and found him determined on not taking the sacrament which the protestant Bishops pressed him to receive; that they had very much wondered at it, but there remained always some of them in his room, if he did not make some pretence for bidding every body leave it in order to speak freely to the King his brother, and to dispose him to make a formal adjuration of heresy and to confess to a Catholic priest.

We agitated several expedients; the Duke of York proposed I should ask to speak to the King his brother, in order to communicate to him some secret business from your Majesty, and that every body should be required to go out. I offered to do it; but I represented to him, besides, that it would cause a great noise, it was not likely to make

me stay privately with the King of England, and him alone, long enough for what we had to do. It came then into the Duke of York's thoughts, to call in the Queen, to take, as it were, a last leave of the King, and to ask his pardon if she had disobeyed him in any thing, that he should also perform the same ceremony. At last the Duke of York determined to speak to the King his brother before every body, but so that no one might hear what he would say to him, because that would leave no room for suspicion, and it would be merely thought that he was speaking to him of state affairs, and of what he wished should be done after his death. Thus, without any other greater precaution, the Duke of York leaned to the King his brother's ear, after he had ordered that no body should come near: I was in the room, and more than twenty people at the door that was open; one did not hear what the Duke of York said, but the King of England now and then said very loudly, *yes, with all my heart;* he sometimes caused the Duke of York to repeat his words, because he did not hear distinctly; this lasted nearly a quarter of an hour; the Duke of York went again out as if he intended to go to the Queen, and told me, "the King consents that I shall call a priest for "him; I dare not call any one of the Dutches's; they are "too well known; send for some one presently." I told him I would do it with all my heart, but I thought too much time would be lost, and that I had just seen all the priests of the Queen in a closet near her Room. He told me, "you are right." At the same time he perceived the Earl of Castelmelhor, who eagerly seized the proposal I made him; and took upon himself to speak to the Queen; he returned instantly and told me; should I venture my head in this business I would joyfully do it; however I

know not one priest attached to the Queen's household, who understands and speaks English. Therefore we resolved to send to the Resident of Venice for an English priest; but as there was no room for the least delay, the Earl of Castelmelhor went to the place where the Queen's priests were, and found there among them, a Scotch priest, called Hudelston, who saved the King of England after the battle of Worcester, and by an act of Parliament was excepted from all the laws made against the Catholics, and priests; a wig and great coat were given him in order to disguise him, and the Earl of Castelmelhor led him to the door of an apartment, which by a small stair case, goes to the King's room. The Duke of York, whom I had informed that all was ready, sent Chiffin to receive and conduct Mr. Hudelston: then he said loudly, "Gentlemen, "the King orders every one to withdraw except the Earl's "of Bath and Feversham." The former is the first officer of the King's bed-chamber, and the latter was in discharge of his duty and in actual service. The Physicians entered a closet, the door of which was shut, and Chiffin brought in Mr. Hudelston. The Duke of York, in presenting him to the King, said to the latter, "Sire, here is a man who res-"cued your life, and who comes now to save your soul." The King answered, let him be welcome. Then he confessed his sins with great sentiments of devotion and repentance. The Earl of Castelmelhor had taken care to get Hudelston instructed by a Portuguese Friar, a barefooted Carmelite, in what he was to say to the King, on such an occasion, because of himself he was no great doctor. But the Duke of York told me that he performed his function very well, and caused the King of England formally to engage, he would declare himself openly to be

a Catholic if he recovered his health: then he received the absolution, the Lord's supper, and even the extreme unction. All this lasted about three quarters of an hour. They looked all at each other in the antichamber; spoke only with their eyes, and whispered in each other's ears. The presence of my Lord's Bath and Feversham, who are Protestants, removed in some measure the fears of the Bishops; the Queen's women, however, and the other Priests, saw so many persons going to and fro, that I think it impossible the secret should be kept very long.

After the King of England's having received the Sacraments, his illness was rather mending. It is certain that he spoke more intelligibly and had more strength; we already hoped God had been willing to work a miracle by curing him; but the physicians judged the illness had not diminished, and the King would not pass the night; he appeared, however, a great deal more quiet, and spoke with more sense and knowledge than he had done from ten o'clock in the evening, till eight in the morning. He spoke several times quite loud to the Duke of York, in terms full of tenderness and friendship. He recommended to him twice the Lady Portsmouth, and the Duke of Richmond; he also recommended to him all his remaining children. He did not mention at all the Duke of Monmouth, either one way or the other. He often expressed his confidence in the mercy of God. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was his preacher, recited some prayers, and spoke to him of God; the King of England showed with his head, that he understood him; that Bishop did not take upon him to tell him any thing particular, nor to propose to him he should make a profession of faith: he apprehended *

refusal, and was still more afraid, in my opinion, to irritate the Duke of York.

The King of England preserved all night an entire knowledge, and spoke of every thing with a great deal of calmness; at six o'clock, he asked what o'clock it was, and said, cause the curtains to be opened, that I may see the day-light once more; he suffered great pain, and at seven o'clock he was bled, because they thought it would allay his pain; from half past eight, he spoke no more, except with the greatest difficulty; and about ten, he had no longer any knowledge. He died at noon, without any effort or convulsion. The new King withdrew to his apartment, he was unanimously acknowledged, and afterwards proclaimed.

I thought it my duty to give your Majesty an exact account of the particulars which took place on this occasion; and I think myself very happy, since God granted me to have a hand in the business.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

February 19th, 1685.

Last evening the sixteenth I informed your Majesty, by an express, of the King of England's death, and of the Duke of York's having been acknowledged and proclaimed King without any trouble or opposition. The new King of England went into the council-chamber a quarter of an hour after the King his brother's decease. The keeper of the Seals of England, the keeper of the Privy Seal and both Secretaries of State delivered him up the seals which he gave them instantly back; saying that he re-established the Privy Council to consist of the same persons of which it had been before composed. They all took a new oath. His

Britannic Majesty then told them in a few words, that his grief for the loss of a brother and King for whom he felt so much respect and love, did not allow him to make them a long discourse, but that he thought himself obliged to declare to them once for all that he would use the power God had given him, only to maintain the laws of England, and would do nothing against the safety and preservation of the Protestant religion; that he would take all possible care to discharge the duties of a good King towards his subjects and people, and that he likewise expected his subjects would preserve their obedience and loyalty which they owe to him by the laws of God and man. My Lord Rochester replied, and asked of his Britannic Majesty, whether he did not choose that a declaration of what he had pleased to say should be published. This was resolved, and the declaration will be printed. The orders were then given for the proclamation, and the council rose in order to go in a body and salute the reigning Queen, and then the Queen Dowager.

From thence the whole council proceeded to have the publication made in several parts of the city of London. The Mayor accompanying them. The Peers of England who were present, followed the council. Some horse preceded, and companies of infantry were posted in divers places to repress tumult and disorder if any should arise. The people shouted as it is customary in such a case. Persons were appointed to distribute wine, and drink the health of King James the Second.

There has as yet been no change in the offices. The King of England thought at first he ought to let things remain as they are; not even in the council of the cabinet has there been any alteration yet made; but it is held only for

forms sake, and the King of England holds secret conferences with my Lords Sunderland, Rochester and Godolphin, where the most important matters are determined. My Lord Rochester has a larger share than any other in his confidence. He no longer thinks of going to Ireland. It is believed either the Earl of Clarendon, or the Duke of Beaufort will repair thither. The Duke of Ormond may possibly stay there for some time longer.

The King of England told me he would forthwith send my Lord Churchill to communicate to your Majesty the death of the King his brother, and his accession to the crown; that he chose him as a man already in the secret of an intimate connection with your Majesty. He is an officer of his bed-chamber: and this mission belonged to him of course, since he does not send the Earl of Peterborough, who is the first officer of the bed-chamber.

An hour after being proclaimed, his Britannic Majesty went to see the Lady Portsmouth and gave her many assurances of his protection and friendship. My Lord Godolphin and the other commissioners of the finances remain in their functions, but it is believed, some time hence my Lord Rochester will be Lord High Treasurer, and that he himself judges it more proper to let affairs settle before he openly takes up the administration of the finances. My Lord Sunderland has likewise a great share in the King of England's confidence. He spoke to me of him with a great deal of esteem, and as thinking him very fit to serve him in the designs he has. His Britannic Majesty took care before and since the death of the King his brother, to establish a strict connexion between my Lords Sunderland and Rochester. Their friendship had grown rather cold latterly; my Lords Sunderland and Godolphin, and my Lady

Portsmouth were in an exclusive possession of all the authority near the late King of England. My Lord Rochester, who knew him, had wished to go to Ireland in which the others had served him, in order to procure him an honourable exile. The Duke of York was very sorry to see my Lord Rochester's credit diminished, as he thought that would return upon him. I was often employed to mitigate matters.

My Lord Churchill has a thorough knowledge of every thing; and will be able, if your Majesty is pleased with it, to tell your Majesty many things which it is impossible to explain by letters. Those things are not very important at present, except to show more clearly the actual inward situation of the court of England. My Lord Churchill has a large share in his master's good graces, and the choice the latter has made of him to send him to your Majesty is a proof of it. I proceed now to the most important points.

The King of England loses the greatest proportion of his revenues by the King his brother's decease. He is persuaded that government cannot be sustained with the revenue left him which would amount but to seven hundred thousand pounds sterling.

He called me last evening into his closet, and after having talked with me of divers things concerning the internal state of affairs which was of no great importance, he said to me you will perhaps be surprized, but I hope you will be of my opinion when I shall have given you my reasons. I have resolved to convene the Parliament forthwith, and to be in session in the month of May. I shall at the same time publish a declaration to maintain myself in the enjoyment of the same revenues which the King my brother enjoyed. Without such a proclamation for convening Parlia-

ment I should venture too far, by taking straightway possession of what was established during the life of the late King. It is a decisive stroke for me to get possession and enjoyment; for in succeeding times it will be a great deal easier to me either to dismiss the Parliament, or to support myself by other means, which should appear to me far more convenient. Many people will say I determine too promptly on convening a Parliament; but if I waited longer, I should lose all the merit of it. I know the English; one must not show them any fear in the outset. The ill-affected would have formed cabals to ask for a Parliament; and would have won the favour of the nation, which in process of time they would have abused; I know well that I shall still find difficulties to overcome; but I shall surmount them, and be enabled to acknowledge the infinite obligations which I have to the King your master.

I know into what embarrassments the late King my brother threw himself when he suffered himself to be shaken with respect to France; I shall certainly prevent the Parliament from meddling with foreign affairs, and I shall separate them as soon as I see that they show the least ill will.

It is your business to explain to the King your master what I tell you that he may not find fault with my having so promptly taken such an important resolution; and without consulting him, as I ought and am willing to do in every business; but I should have seriously injured my affairs, if I had only delayed a week, for I should have remained bereft of the revenues I preserve, and the least opposition from those who should have refused to pay the taxes, would have induced me to levy them by force; whereas I shall contend now to be authorized by law and

it will be very easy for me to compel those who are disposed to oppose what I do.

The King of England added thereto every kind of protestation of gratitude and attachment for your Majesty. He told me that without your Majesty's support and protection he could undertake nothing of what he had a mind to do in favour of the Catholics; that he knew well enough, he would never be safe, unless the liberty of conscience for them should entirely be established in England, that he will devote to that work his entire application as soon as he shall perceive any possibility to do so, that I had seen how easily he had been acknowledged and proclaimed King, that the rest would go on the same way by conducting himself with firmness and wisdom.

I told his Britannic Majesty I should not take upon me to reply forthwith to what he did me the honour to tell me, that I never could doubt the sincerity of his sentiments towards your Majesty, and that I thought him too ingenuous and wise to do any thing which might alter a connexion founded on so much experience and reason; that I should give an account to your Majesty of what he had said to me, and that after having reflected on it, I should freely tell him my sentiments which ought to have no weight at all until I should speak in your Majesty's name; that I should however tell him of myself and without thinking of it any more, that your Majesty is in such a position as to have nothing to desire for the augmentation of your power and grandeur; that your Majesty set bounds to your conquests at a time when it would have been easy for your Majesty to augment them: that your friendship for the late King of England and for him whom I had the honour to address had induced you to support their interests and those

of royalty in this country; that God had blessed the designs of your Majesty every where; and that I was sure your Majesty would feel more than common pleasure in seeing him raised to the government of the three kingdoms; that I had no doubt his conduct would always prove conformable to what he owed to his reputation, and real interests, which will consist in preserving your Majesty's friendship, and that it is just to leave the management of his domestic affairs to his own judgment. I did not think it, sire, to be my duty to combat, without having maturely reflected on it, a resolution, already taken and which my reasons would not have altered; nay, I believed, your Majesty's dignity required I should not look affrighted for the sole interests of your Majesty, by an assembling of Parliament, when the King of England shows no apprehension from thence.

My Lord Rochester came this morning to me in the name of his Britannic Majesty, in order to explain to me at more length the motives for convening Parliament; he added to what the King of England had told me, that if he had not prevented the petitions which were about to be addressed to him, the Keeper of the Seals and the Marquis of Halifax would not have failed of pressing him to convene a Parliament; that he had wished to prevent them, and show that what he does is done spontaneously; that the present advantage which he derives from this declaration consists in getting possession of the revenue which the late King of England enjoyed, as well as of his crown; that he would have been too chargeable to your Majesty, if he had been obliged to ask of your Majesty such considerable succours as he should have been in need of, that what he does exempts him no ways from having recourse to your Majesty,

and that he hopes your Majesty will be pleased in the beginning of his reign to help him to sustain its weight; that this new obligation, joined to so many others, will still more engage him not to deviate from the path, which he thought the late King his brother ought to keep with respect to your Majesty; that this will be the means of rendering him independent of the Parliament, and of enabling him to support himself without Parliament, if he should be refused the continuation of the revenues the late King enjoyed.

My Lord Rochester forgot no reason which he thought calculated to convince me that your Majesty runs no hazard by succouring the King of England at present with a considerable sum; that it is supporting his work, and enabling him to be consistent with himself; that as to him, he has not altered his sentiments, and that it was his own opinion the King his master cannot well support himself without your Majesty's aid and assistance; that it would be leaving him at his people's mercy, and in a situation to be ruined, if your Majesty did not give him new marks of your amity on such a decisive occasion, and that on this commencement depended all the happiness of his master.

I told my Lord Rochester, that a few days since, so many important and unforeseen events had taken place that it would be imprudent for a foreigner like me to presume to judge of what is to be done in the present juncture, that the word parliament did not frighten me, that I knew, by experience, they had no force besides what they obtained from a court cabal, or an intelligence with ministers; that I was aware of the difference between the past and present time, and with what firmness the new King of England would, from his own temper, conduct business; that I well perceived him to be in a nice and very perilous

conjuncture, that I could not however forbear approving of the resolution he had taken to maintain himself in the possession of the whole revenue of the King of England, that the calling of a Parliament would give a strong hope to the foes of the Duke of York and of royalty, that they would use every kind of artifice to throw him into embarrassments; from which he would be unable to extricate himself; that nothing would be granted him, but upon very hard terms; and that it would then prove alike perilous either to accept or to refuse them; that nevertheless I should not fail of acquainting your Majesty with the state of affairs and with what I had been told about the present want of a considerable succour; that formerly such a request would have appeared incompatible with the design of convening a Parliament; that your majesty was prepossessed with a great deal of esteem and confidence for the King of England, that I had been happy enough to execute with some success the orders I had received from your Majesty concerning him; that he was a better witness of it than any body else, since it was with him I had treated about the Duke of York's right to the crown and his return from Scotland, and his being restored to the councils and to the functions of the admiralty, that I was glad to treat now with a minister who was in so high a credit with a great King whose brother-in-law he has the honour to be; and that the concerns he had held with me while he had the direction of the finances had inspired your Majesty with a great deal of esteem for him.

He replied hereto in terms full of respect, and said to me, I am once more employed to ask money of you. I should not do it so boldly if I did not think the money will be turned to a good account, and that the King your mas-

ter cannot lay it out in a better way; be assured your foes and those of the King my master would be overjoyed should nothing considerable be done for him in France on an occasion like this. Mind to represent to the King your master the importance of putting mine in a condition where he shall need nothing but his friendship, and not depend on his subjects so that they can give him laws.

This, Sire, is the faithful account of what happened here until to-day. I shall not be bold enough to form fixed judgments upon the time to come. England is too liable to frequent revolutions and great changes, to foretell what will happen. It appears to me, from every thing I can look into, that the factions have not abandoned their designs, and that their minds are not out of conceit with their aversion for the Catholic religion. Those who offended the Duke of York and wished to undo him, think he will always remember it and never forgive them. Every thing however looks calm, and it is a great advantage for his Britannic Majesty peaceably to get possession of the crown and the revenues requisite to sustain it. The present utility to be derived from the calling of Parliament is that it will restrain even those who have a design of embroiling matters, because they think they will have a more plausible pretence for doing so when Parliament shall be assembled. If I dare give your Majesty my advice, I think your Majesty should begin by manifestations of friendship and confidence to the King of England.

I expect every day a bill of exchange of 50,000 livres, which joined to another of a like sum which is already here, will enable me to make a payment of one hundred thousand livres. I shall, however, not make it without an express order, and I shall contrive matters so that people

here shall approve of my not dispensing with the rules in a time when nothing appears to be capable of disturbing the King of England. I shall have the honour, by the next courier to give your Majesty an account of the effect which the rumor of convening a Parliament will have produced. I shall try to penetrate into the designs of ministers, and into the divers motives of each of them. They were very glad to have, singly, a share in the resolution of assembling a Parliament; but the undertaking to seize upon the revenues of the customs and excise, which were to expire with the late King of England's decease, will excite a great ferment and lead the most judicious to conjecture that the king of England wants to act with full hands. I shall take all possible care to be well informed of every thing, to the end that your majesty may command me what will suit your service. If your Majesty thinks it proper, to send hither promptly a considerable sum, I shall not disburse more on that account, and I shall do nothing of my own head, unless I should see a rebellion formed and it should be absolutely necessary to afford the King of England a prompt assistance.

It is, as far as I can judge, very important that your Majesty should be pleased to allow some facility concerning the affair of the decree which forbids English vessels to transport merchandize belonging to the Genoese. I shall make the best use I can of the orders which I expect from your Majesty on that subject. The Marquis de Croissy's dispatch of the ninth of February has already produced a very good effect. If the orders I shall receive are not sufficient to settle the business to the entire satisfaction of his Britannic Majesty, I shall wait until your Majesty has been informed of all that happened, and I shall certainly find

means to get time, till I have received new orders. Your Majesty judges well enough that it is of importance the King of England's reign should not begin with a misunderstanding between your Majesty and him. The ground of the affair exists no longer since the Genoese submitted to all your Majesty prescribed to them.

The King of England told me this evening, I sent my Lord Rochester to you and made no scruple to represent to the King your master the need I stand in of his assistance. You know my situation and how important the juncture is for me. He told me after that, that by the last letters from Brussels the Duke of Monmouth was expected there, and that the ambassador of Spain had asked him this morning in what manner he wished the Duke of Monmouth to be treated; that he had answered him that every body knew the conduct the Duke of Monmouth had held towards him, and that it was not his business to give any advice upon what the King of Spain or his ministers think they ought to do; that they had their orders or would receive new ones, and that it was their business to judge what suits the service and dignity of their master. They have arrested at Dover a very trusty domestic of the Duke of Monmouth, whose name is John Quibring: he came from Flanders: he had set off from thence before the sickness of the late King of England; It is however believed something will be discovered by his means. The King of England charged me this evening with a letter of his own hand for your Majesty.

I am with the profound respect I owe, &c.

BARILLON.

February 19th, 1685.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

February 20th, 1685.

M. Barillon: your two letters of the 12th, and 17th, of this month have been delivered to me by the courier you dispatched to me; and I learned with astonishment and a very sensible sorrow the so sudden death of the King of England; it was, nevertheless, not a little consolatory for me to be informed by the same letters of all the graces God bestowed upon that Prince towards the close of his life, and of the happiness he had so worthily to profit thereby. (It shall however be kept very secret by me what happened in his last moments.)

I address you the letter I write with my own hand to the King his brother, and you cannot too strongly express to him, when you deliver it to him from me, how much I interest myself with every thing that concerned him, and how much pleasure I shall always take in procuring his prosperity and happiness.

Observe well how the minds are actually disposed both at the court where you are and in the city of London, and in the provinces, what manœuvres are resorted to by the cabals opposed to the royal authority and the Catholic religion, which are the intrigues of the Prince of Orange and Duke of Monmouth, who are the principal promoters thereof; whether their factions are powerful, what measures the Duke of York takes (what may be the force of the Catholic party in England) with regard to religion, whether he means to make a proclamation which gives a free exercise to every religion and consequently to the Catholics: whether he will not cause the Catholic Lords detained in the tower to be set at liberty; to whom the King will give the

principal offices; what measures he takes to secure the sea-ports, and most important places; whether he can trust the troops kept at the expense of the Crown; whether the principal commanders are strongly attached to his interests who are those he ought to distrust, or on whom he may safely depend.

(What changes he makes among the officers of the troops, what funds he has to support them.)

In this manner endeavour to be perfectly well informed and to give me an exact account of all the means, the said King possesses to support his authority, and of every thing he ought to apprehend, so that I may be well informed, and I shall model my resolutions upon your information: as I am very well pleased with the conduct the Earl of Sunderland has pursued since he got again into the administration of affairs, you ought to render him near the King of England all the good offices you can and even give him to understand if you think it necessary, that his preservation will be very agreeable to me. You can also assure the Dutchess of Portsmouth of the continuation of my protection.

I have just given orders to send you at present by bills of exchange a sum of five hundred thousand livres, that you may assist the King of England according to the most urgent wants, he may feel in the beginning of his government, trusting that you will behave herein with all the prudence requisite to render this succour as useful as possible to the welfare of his affairs and to make him look on it as a most essential proof of my friendship which anticipates his wants in the present conjuncture.

I have no doubt he will be sufficiently disposed by his own interest, to prevent the Prince of Orange or the Duke

of Monmouth's passing into England ; but if, against my opinion, he appears to you disposed to consent to either, you cannot too strongly represent to him, of how much importance it is to him to take effective measures, to prevent their landing there, and joining the cabals which oppose the establishment of his authority. In one word, the Prince of Orange's designs are not only incompatible with the safety of his person and government, but also with the connexions that may subsist between the Kings of France and England.

I also receive at this moment via London, your letters of the 12th, 14th and 15th, which principally inform me of the circumstances of the sickness and death of the late King of England ; and as they show me likewise, that the shutting of the sea-ports has been enjoined merely to prevent the Prince of Orange or the Duke of Monmouth's making pretence of the late King's illness for passing into England, I have no doubt, the King now reigning will be still more careful to prevent any of them from creating new troubles against his government, and he could not cease from that precaution, without damaging himself very much, and exposing himself to great perils.

In the present situation of affairs in England, I thought I could not charge my Lord Arran with a letter for the King, inasmuch as that which I wrote to him, on our common affliction, and his succession to the crown was against usage, and as it was through a pure motive of friendship, I trampled upon the rules that would have bound me to wait till that change should have been communicated to me ; therefore I desire you will inform the King of the reason why I gave no letters to my Lord, and you may besides render him all the good offices you can, in order to procure him near the new King, all the advantages

that may suit him; looking upon him as a person who has always shewn for the King's service, all the attachment which the zeal he had for the late King of England could allow him, and which he will continue to have for the present King.

I give no answer to the points of your letter which regard the complaints the English make an account of a few vessels of that nation having been taken and carried to Toulon; for I am sure, the orders I gave to have them released, and all I wrote to you, must have fully satisfied the King of England, and removed every cause of complaint of his subjects.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

February 26th, 1685.

M. Barillon, your second courier, delivered me your letters of the 18th and 19th of this month; of which the first informs me exactly of every thing of moment that happened pending the four days of sickness of the late King of England, and the other, of the resolution the present King has taken to call a new Parliament, and to assemble it in the month of March next; I had no wish upon the first point which you have not fully gratified; I shall also tell you that, after having given the King of England particular marks of the share I took in his grief, I have likewise shown it publicly, at first by putting a stop at my court to the ball and opera diversions, and then by going into mourning, which I have resolved to wear as long as the late King ordered it for the decease of the late Queen my spouse.

You have seen by the dispatch of the 20th of this month, that I anticipated the request which the King of England

made to you for a succour in money, and that you are now enabled to do it beyond what he could hope for. I also approve of the resolution he took to call a new Parliament in order to assemble it in the month of March; and the reasons he relies on persuade me, he could not take a better course; having besides too good an opinion of his wisdom to doubt that any thing can happen which should possibly detach him from the connexions he formed with me.

As M. Avaux writes to me that the Duke of Monmouth on the night of the 20th, left the Hague in great secrecy to cross into England, I am sure I shall hear by your first letters, what measures the court where you are, has taken to withstand the designs that Duke may meditate, and that you will be able at the same time to give me a part of the intelligence I asked of you by my dispatch of the 20th; as it is very likely that the Prince of Orange and Duke of Monmouth's cabals will not remain inactive in the commencement of the new reign, and that it might also be disturbed by the various sects which have an interest in preventing the establishment of our religion.

I have chosen Marshal Lorge to go and compliment the King of England on his accession to the crown, and condole on the death of the late King his brother. I can have no doubt the court where you are must be pleased with what I wrote to you by my dispatch of the 12th, and by the preceding, about the English vessels which trade with the city of Genoa, and I have given orders that the last which was sent into Toulon, should be released, and that henceforth none should be disturbed on its voyage; so that as soon as my orders shall reach the commanders of my ships, there will no longer occur any thing that can afford the English cause of complaint.

I send you a letter for the Dutchess of Portsmouth, and on delivering it to her, you may confirm to her the assurances I give her of my protection.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

February 26th, 1685.

I received the day before yesterday your Majesty's dispatch of the 20th of this month, by the return of the courier I had dispatched. I repaired instantly to the King of England, and gave him the letter in your Majesty's handwriting, which he was so kind as to make me read: he appeared to me to receive with a deep sensibility the testimonies of your Majesty's friendship; I thought I ought not to wait for another opportunity, nor put off informing him of the care your Majesty had taken to gather in so short a a time, bills of exchange for the sum of five hundred thousand livres, and to send them to me to the end that I might use them in such a way as would suit his service. That Prince was greatly surprized, and told me, with tears in his eyes, "The King your master only is capable of acting in "a manner so noble and so full of goodness to me; I con- "fess to you that I am more sensible of what he has done "on this occasion, than any thing that can take place during "the remainder of my life; for I clearly see the bottom of "his heart, and how much he desires that my affairs should "prosper: He has anticipated my wishes and prevented "even my wants; I never can be grateful enough for such "generous conduct; express to him my gratefulness, and "assure him of the attachment which during my whole life "I shall feel for him."

I cannot, Sire, express the joy that Prince had to see so prompt and solid a mark of your Majesty's friendship, and

how readily your Majesty had sent so considerable a sum. In order to take away nothing from what he owed to your Majesty, I told him I should frankly confess to him that, in the confusion in which I was at the moment of the late King of England's demise, I had not thought of dispatching a courier to inform your Majesty thereof, and that I had not represented to your Majesty how important it was to send him a speedy succour; that, if thereby I had committed a fault, it was sufficiently amended by what your Majesty has spontaneously done. The King of England interrupted me, by saying, that he could not enough admire your Majesty's foresight and care in giving him so readily such an essential mark of your amity; that your Majesty should not have cause to regret it; and that he should keep in his mind what your Majesty did to secure the crown upon his head.

As soon as I had left him, he shut himself up with my Lords Rochester, Sunderland and Godolphin, and related to them what I had told him from your Majesty, in terms stronger even than those he had used to me. They came one after the other to whisper in my ear, that I had restored life to the King their master, and that, though he was sure of your Majesty's friendship, this latter proof, so seasonably given, obliged him beyond all measure.

I expected certainly that your Majesty's conduct in this case would produce a good effect, but I did not think I should receive for it so many testimonies of gratefulness, and I see thereby that it had perhaps been intended to inspire the King of England with some apprehension that your Majesty would not make such great efforts to support him. This, however, is an opinion of my own; for I have

always seen in the conversation of his Britannic Majesty a great confidence in your Majesty's friendship.

I am now to give your Majesty an account of what had fallen out the day before, when I had a conference with the three ministers. My Lord Rochester, as president of the council, explained to me in a few words what they were charged by the King their master to tell me, which was to represent to your Majesty the necessity of his affairs, and of how much importance it was to him to be succoured in the beginning of his reign.

My Lord Rochester entered then upon the discussion of the treaty made with the late King of England; we agreed about every thing, even of what was wanting to complete the payment of three years of subsidy elapsed. My Lord Rochester said, there had always been between him and me a difference upon this account, because he had expected and believed that your Majesty would give two millions per annum for three years; that it was true I had said on my side that I never was authorized to promise above fifteen hundred thousand livres for each of the last two years; that this difficulty had not been removed, that the fourth year, which is nearly past, had not even been spoken of, because it was not foreseen that your Majesty would have been willing to discontinue a subsidy to the late King of England, whose conduct in every thing was so agreeable to your Majesty, and which had so little flagged on any occasion. I replied to that, I should not choose to speak confidently on matters of fact unless they were entirely certain, but that I could not go beyond my powers, and had not done it; therefore we were to abide by what we had agreed upon; that I should not omit to represent to your Majesty every thing they had said, to the end that your Majesty

might see what your Majesty should deem suitable to your own service and to the welfare of the King of England's affairs.

My Lord Rochester ended with saying, the ambassador and I never had any serious controversy, for as the King his master's supply was a gratification without conditions, I had no right to quarrel about the amount more or less; I believe however that our mutual transactions promoted the service of both kings, and that they did not fare the worse: He added, that it was his sentiment to continue treating the same way, and to establish a confidence and connexion like that which already succeeded so well. I acceded to his proposition by adding thereto that, though the late King of England had not formally bound himself to renounce his treaty with Spain, he had nevertheless managed that matter in such a way as was to be expected of him; that the present King was still more at liberty; and that he was no wise bound to that treaty, with the execution of which the King his brother had judged himself to be sufficiently dispensed. The three ministers agreed to what I said, and told me that the King their master considered himself as entirely disengaged from the obligation which the late King had contracted, however slight it might be.

I engaged to write to your Majesty to favour efficaciously the propositions which my Lord Churchill was to make your Majesty, for a present and considerable succour. We had yesterday another conference by command of his Britannic Majesty, but there was no longer any mention of what we had discoursed upon in the preceding one. The ministers endeavoured by turns to give me to understand, that they thought they ought no longer to treat of, nor to discuss, the interests of the King their master with me; that

your Majesty had prevented their saying any thing; and that so frank and generous a proceeding from your Majesty, had obliged the King their master to give them orders to express to me his gratitude, and to intreat me to represent it to your Majesty such as he feels it; that my Lord Churchill had no other charge but to thank your Majesty, and that for the remainder, it was left to my knowledge of the situation of affairs to induce your Majesty to do as your Majesty should please; since it was thought nothing ought to be asked of a Prince who prevented in advance the call for any favour that could be expected of him.

The King of England spoke to me yesterday several times, and told me that he feels the most lively gratitude, and thinks himself to be in a condition not to fear any thing, assured as he is of your Majesty's friendship. I dwell, perhaps, too long upon those matters; but it is, methinks, to the purpose your Majesty should know how sensible his Britannic Majesty and his ministers were to what your Majesty had done. I have not yet given any money; as some days must expire before the bills of exchange become regularly due, and it is not even desired I should press the payment thereof, in order not to give rise to any surmise at the exchange of what is going on. Thus I shall receive new orders from your Majesty before I shall be in a condition to make any considerable payment. It does not appear to me that any anxiety is entertained here to get money. Your Majesty is so perfectly confided in, that the money is thought to be at my house as safe as if it was at Whitehall. I am perhaps mistaken, but I think your Majesty cannot do any thing that will be of more advantage for the time to come than to have prevented what could be desired on so important an occasion.

His Britannic Majesty told me so late as last evening, "I do not consider the condition I am in; but the situation "I might be in. All is peaceable in England and Scotland; "But the King your master succoured me at a time when "he could not know whether there would be a sedition in "London, and whether I should not be driven out from "thence."

The King of England went yesterday publicly to hear Mass, in a little chapel belonging to the Queen his wife, the door of which was open; this furnished a topic for very general conversation. He told me the day before, that every one ought to act according to his own judgment, and conformably to his own temper; that a dissimulation of his religion was opposed to his way of acting, that the disaffected would have taken advantage of his fears if he had shewn any; that if he ventured any thing thereby, he thought himself bound in conscience to profess his religion openly; that he was persuaded God had not allowed the King his brother the possibility to make a public profession of his religion, but just at the point of death, because he had been too much afraid of shewing himself to the eyes of the world such as he was; that, however, he had been able to do it on divers occasions without any peril; that he hoped God will protect him; and since your Majesty is pleased to support him, and to show him so sincere a friendship he thinks he has nothing to fear.

That prince gave me a full explanation of his design concerning the Catholics, which is to establish them in an entire freedom of conscience and exercise of religion. This can only be done with time, and by leading matters little by little to that end. His Britannic Majesty's plan is to bring it about with the succour and help of the episcopal party, which he looks upon as the Royal party; and I do

not perceive that his design can tend to favour the Non-conformists and Presbyterians, whom he considers as real republicans.

This project ought to be conducted with a good deal of prudence, for it will be stoutly withstood in process of time. At present nothing is known thereof, besides what the late King of England had already determined upon; that is, that all Catholics shall be unrestrained, and all judges shall be expressly forbidden from pursuing or disturbing them. This is resolved, and will be executed with firmness. There are no longer any Lords imprisoned in the tower.

The report is widely spread here that the late King of England died a Catholic; nay, many circumstances thereof are published and his Britannic Majesty does not take any trouble to destroy them. It is his opinion, he cannot be blamed for having assisted the King his brother to die in that religion of which he makes himself an open profession. However the late King of England's memory is bespattered on that account by the zealous Protestants, who reproach him with having cheated the world, by openly professing a religion which was not in his heart. Some say he was beset by his brother in his illness, and compelled to declare himself a Roman Catholic. The most factious maintain that it appears now clearly there was a plot of the Papists, that the late King of England was concerned in it as well as the Duke of York, and that the suspicions which were entertained on that subject are entirely confirmed.

The body of the late King of England was the day before yesterday carried to Westminster, and in the evening buried without ceremony, all the peers and officers of the palace were present; they broke their staves and insignia

of their office over the grave. Yesterday morning his Britannic Majesty confirmed all those who were possessed of such offices as were not to be found in his household when he was Duke of York; that is, the office of Lord High Steward, Lord High Chamberlain, Lord Treasurer of the Household, Comptroller, Vice-Chamberlain, and other officers who have a species of jurisdiction. It is not the same thing with the Lords of the Bed-chamber, Master of the Horse, and Master of the Wardrobe. It is thought he will give these offices to those who were attached to himself. The confirmation of the officers of the palace is sufficiently approved of by the world. It is, however, only for a time, and there are some among them, if I am not mistaken who will not be always retained.

My Lord Sunderland was very sensible of what I told him about the order I had to uphold him near the King his master, if he wanted it.

My Lady Portsmouth is uneasy about the treatment she fears she may experience in her own affairs. What I told her of the continuation of your Majesty's protection, gave her the only consolation she has had since the death of the late King of England.

My Lord Rochester was to-day declared Lord High Treasurer, and accepted the staff. His Britannic Majesty told me two days ago, that he would give, as he also did to-day, the office of chamberlain of the Queen his lady to my Lord Godolphin, wishing to retain him as well as my Lord Sunderland, in his most intimate confidence.

They, all three, drew up my Lord Churchill's instructions; he set off this morning. They told me the whole instructions consisted in thanking your Majesty, and giving you plainly to understand the gratefulness of the King

their master, for your Majesty's having spontaneously anticipated what could be asked of you.

It had been said at court that the Treasury would remain in the hands of the commissioners, till Parliament should meet; but the King of England did not think it proper. There were some among them whose past conduct had very much displeased him, and he judged that affairs could be supported only by a man of credit and authority, such as my Lord Rochester.

The news from Scotland, imports that the proclamation took place at Edinburg, attended by a great concourse of people, and without any difficulty. The same happened at York, and in all the cities of England. No doubt is entertained that it will be received in Ireland in the same way. In short, there is no instance of so great a succession being taken possession of, more peaceably or with less trouble.

The King of England thinks he is assured of all the seaports, of the whole fleet, and all the troops. He knows well, however, that there are among them disaffected people, and who, at the bottom of their hearts, wish for quarrels, but he is at the same time persuaded, that no one will be found who dares, to begin them, and that every one is convinced it would be running straightway into certain ruin.

The companies of the East-Indies, Africa, and Hamburg, offered to pay the customary duties: all this is likely to last till Parliament meets; then it is, that if there is any ill will, or designs formed against his Britannic Majesty, that those who formed them will be bolder to come forward, and to undertake something.

The King of England spoke to me several times, concerning the prince of Orange. I executed your Majesty's

orders, and represented to his Britannic Majesty, how important it was for the safety of his person, and the repose of his dominions, that the Prince of Orange should not come now into this country. I forgot nothing of what I thought calculated to give legitimate and well founded suspicions of what might be undertaken by a Prince, the presumptive heir of the Crown, by his wife, and whom the people would look upon as their deliverer, being of their religion. It appeared to me all these considerations made a strong impression on the mind of the King of England, and that, within himself, he had made the same reflections. I found, however, he was not determined on refusing the Prince of Orange, the permission to come, if he accompanied his request with other things which may show his submission. His Britannic Majesty's opinion is, that in the actual situation of affairs in this country, the Prince of Orange could not succeed, if he were openly to undertake to excite troubles here. I replied, it was difficult to imagine that the Prince of Orange should so soon change his measures and sentiments, and that the rules of prudence do not permit, that in the beginning of a reign which is not yet settled, all imaginable precautions should not be taken to deprive the people of every pretence for sedition. I added thereto that the connexion, which his Britannic Majesty pretends to preserve with, and the succours he expects from your Majesty cannot be reconciled with the Prince of Orange's designs, and that he will scarcely desist from them.

What I said was not controverted by the King of England; but the opinion he has, that he ought not to show any fear in the outset, hinders his openly opposing the voyage which the Prince of Orange will perhaps request to

make. Along with this his Britannic Majesty contemplates with anticipated pleasure, seeing the Prince reduced to submission. I shall not omit any care to prevent the inconveniences that may happen from that quarter. I cannot yet communicate to Your Majesty any thing certain on that score, until news is received from Holland of what is doing there and of the manner, the Prince of Orange conducts himself.

There is no mention made here of the Duke of Monmouth, no more than if he had never been talked of. It was known to-day that the proclamation had been made at Dublin with the same tranquillity as in Scotland and England.

My Lord Arran arrived to-day; I did not fail to render him all the good offices which your Majesty enjoined. It appears to me, from the answer the King of England made to me, that he has good reasons to hope he will be made a Lord of the bed-chamber. This is what most suits him at present.

I am &c.
BARILLON.

His Britannic Majesty gave me this evening a letter in his own hand, as an answer to that I had the honor to deliver to him from your Majesty. I have arrived this moment from Whitehall. The King of England told me that letters from Holland had been received and that the Prince of Orange sent hither Overkirk, that both the Duke of Monmouth and he had been surprized at the news of the death of the late King of England; that they had together a long conference and that the Duke of Monmouth had left the Hague without making known whither he went. The King of England does not think the Prince

of Orange will chuse to ask him for a permission to come hither; and I plainly perceive that there is less disposition in his mind to grant him that permission, as he is persuaded the Prince of Orange's intentions are not correct with regard to him. I shall take the requisite care to give the King of England plainly to understand, of what importance it is to him to take his precautions against the undertakings of the Prince of Orange. Chidley sent word that the Prince had given some money to the Duke of Monmouth.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

March 1, 1685.

Every thing is here perfectly quiet. Mass is publicly celebrated at Whitehall, and the King and Queen of England assist there together. The door of the chapel which is small, remains open, and the antichamber is filled with Catholics and Protestants. At the elevation, these latter withdraw, in order not to kneel down.

It does not appear at present, that it has produced any dangerous effect on the minds of sensible and reasonable people. I heard some zealous Protestants saying, that it was just the King of England should enjoy the exercise of his religion, as well as Queens and foreign ministers. But the mob of London is exasperated that the King of England goes publicly to mass. And as there are in London, great numbers of Presbyterians and other sectaries, who are not of the Anglican church, they would have preferred the King of England having contented himself with not going to the late King's chapel, or behaving himself like the non-conformists. His Britannic Majesty told me, that I should see that this first step would not hurt him, and that conducting himself for the remainder of his reign

with wisdom and prudence, there would no inconvenience arise from a thing to which he must have come in process of time.

Yesterday my Lord Clarendon was made keeper of the privy seal, and the office of president of the council that was vacant by the promotion of my Lord Rochester, to the officer of high treasurer, was given to my Lord Halifax. The King of England told me that having preserved all the high officers of the household of the late King of England, his brother, he had been pleased to give one more mark of moderation, by not leaving my Lord Halifax entirely without a station; that he knew and could never trust him; that he gave him no share in the true secret of affairs, and that his post of President would only serve to show his little credit. That Prince added thereto, that in these beginnings, he thought it to be his interest to introduce as few changes as possible, and to effect that, those who were most opposed to him, should not believe themselves to be quite ruined, and without any hope of being able to maintain themselves.

The Prince went into a deep discussion with me of the reasons which induced him to retain in their former stations, those who are known to have been his most dangerous enemies, whilst the King his brother was living. He knows that it alarmed the Catholics whom he trusts, and that their opinion was, such offices ought forthwith to have been filled with men of quality, whose loyalty had been brought to the test. Those who always were of the court-party, are sorry that the offices were not changed; each of them believes he ought to have had a share therein. In the main, even that does not seem to be prejudicial to the King of England at present, and it was important for him

to give some tokens of lenity in the commencement, and to cure people of the prevalent opinion that he never forgives. The true motive is not to put out of all hopes, people whom he thinks capable of serving him, in rendering Parliament more tractable, and disposing it to grant him the continuation of all the revenues he has taken possession of. Though there exists no formal opposition to this, the secret murmur is very great; and the English think all their privileges broken down, because those duties, the levy of which ought to have ceased at the death of the late King, are raised without the authority of law, the same way as during his life-time.

The acts of Parliament which granted those taxes are directly contrary to what is done; and many people maintain they would have been easier obtained from Parliament, if circumspection and discretion had been used, to levy them only with its consent.

However, possession gives a kind of right, and his Britannic Majesty seems to be strongly determined to keep up to it at any price; thinking he cannot otherwise maintain himself. Other things were done upon the same matter, which are but of little moment. The excise which is called additional (they are augmented duties on wines, beers, and other drinks,) was granted to the late King for life; but it was represented, that if the farm of those duties should fall short of the estimate, it would be impossible to find money for the deficiency; therefore it was resolved and inserted into the act of Parliament, that the farm should be given for three years only, and that the enjoyment of these duties should continue all the time that should be requisite to complete the lease which might have preceded the close of the life of the then reigning King.

Pending the latter days of the King of England's illness, the lease was renewed, and the adjudication took place the day before his death. His Britannic Majesty maintains that it was done agreeable to the usual forms and conformably with the act of Parliament; and thus it was published the appropriation of this duty should be continued, which amounts to five hundred thousand pounds per annum. It is one of the most considerable portions of his income.

The King of England has resolved to cause himself to be crowned in the Cathedral of Westminster, before the meeting of Parliament. A committee has been established to-day to regulate the manner, to determine what ceremonies can be omitted both to shelter the conscience of the King of England, and not to omit any essential ceremonies of the coronation, which are esteemed in England as things absolutely necessary for the establishment of the royal authority; after which every thing that may be said or done against the King is reputed high treason. It is thought that expedients will be devised to remove the difficulties which arise from the difference of religion.

M. Overkirk has arrived here; the King of England told me he had brought him a letter from the Prince of Orange, worded in respectful and very submissive terms; that he seemed not to have any intention to come hither, nor to think of requesting permission for it: that, though in the main, his voyage could neither create any peril nor inconvenience, he was yet very glad that it had not taken place, as he did not very well know how to refuse such a permission, without showing an indiscreet fear which might encourage his enemies; that he knew, however, from what I told him, that it is not your Majesty's senti-

ment, that he should give the Prince of Orange permission at present to pass into England; that his resolution is taken to conform, in every thing, to what will be most agreeable to your Majesty; and that I may be assured that he will do nothing that shall not be wholly conformable to his obligations; that he also hopes your Majesty will repose confidence enough in him, not to disapprove what he may be obliged to do for the strengthening of his authority, and the welfare of his affairs; that he is well aware of his true interest, and that nothing in the world shall bring him off from the attachment he shall have, during his whole life, for the interests of your Majesty.

I told the Prince, that it was true, your Majesty does not think it suitable that the Prince of Orange should come to England in the present conjuncture; that by his past conduct it may be sufficiently judged that he is governed by no other rule than his unbounded ambition, which caused him to commit great faults; that being presumptive heir of the crown, the people will cast their eyes upon him, and will favour him, on account of his religion, that this circumstance may expose both his person and his dominions to great peril; and that there seems to exist not one good reason why he should, without necessity, court a danger that appears not to be an ordinary one; that it is important also, to show, in these commencements, a great deal of firmness, and not to apprehend any thing without good ground; but that it is still more necessary to secure himself on all sides, and not slightly to expose such a large establishment as that of which he enjoys a peaceable possession. That your Majesty principally considers what concerns the safety of his Britannic Majesty's person and dominions; that your Majesty also believes it to be of great conse-

quence to him, in the beginning, not to do any thing that might be opposed to the connexions he wishes to preserve and which he holds to be advantageous to him; that it cannot be doubted, the Prince of Orange's sole design is to weaken and to destroy them entirely if he could bring it about; and that his Britannic Majesty cannot too soon and too vigorously deprive his foes of all hopes of moving him or of making him change measures.

I thought, Sire, I ought to speak with force upon these matters; for, as I had the honor to inform you, the King of England would not be sorry to see the Prince of Orange in a state of humiliation and submission. I shall not lose any opportunity to represent to him that the Prince of Orange's submission and respect will not be sincere; and that he will show thereof just as much as necessity may compel him to do. All I have learned to this time induces me to believe the Prince of Orange himself does not think of coming yet, and that he has taken the resolution to conform his conduct, at least in appearance, to what the King of England might wish.

His Britannic Majesty told me yesterday that the Duke of Monmouth had waited upon the Princess of Orange, and made to her protestations of an entire loyalty and submission, earnestly supplicating her, that she would please to assure him, that henceforth he should have no subject more zealous and more wedded to his service. I told the Prince that could only be looked upon as an artifice or an effect of the extreme necessity the Duke of Monmouth is reduced to; either to speak in such a way, or to come and dispute the crown with him, which he is unable to do; that the Prince of Orange and Duke of Monmouth's union ought to be very suspicious to him; that yet I see with great joy that

his foes are compelled to submit, and that your Majesty will hear with pleasure how much his authority is strengthened within and without.

From thence I took occasion for speaking to his Britannic Majesty of the news from Holland; I gave him a copy of the letter to read, which M. Avaux wrote on the 20th. This Prince told me he knew nearly the same matters from Chidley, that he saw the care that was taken to publish a great many falsehoods concerning a letter which he is supposed to have written to the Prince of Orange; that he would tell me the plain truth; that on the day of the death of the King his brother, the post for Holland was starting, that he had thought he ought to inform his daughter of the event, without sending a messenger; and that he had also judged, it would have been pushing affectation too far if he had not said any thing at all to the Prince of Orange; that he had written to him two lines with his own hand, in order simply to communicate to him the news, without joining to it any other declaration either of friendship or of good will. That he was however, well aware what use was made of that note by supposing it was a letter filled with friendship and tenderness; that for the future he would be more upon his guard, in order not to do any thing that might be interpreted against his intentions.

The Duke of Ormond is to come back hither in the month of March, conformably to what had been resolved by the late King of England. There is nobody named yet as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Primate, the Chancellor, and my Lord Grenard, who commands the troops, will have the administration of the government till that place is filled up, as it has been the practice on diverse occasions.

The Marquis of Grave wrote to the King of England a letter in terms very respectful and zealous for his service. He mixt therewith a felicitation upon the convening of Parliament, and on the subject of the Prince of Orange, which has been looked upon by his Britannic Majesty as a sign that the Spaniards intend to manage all their efforts here by parliaments, and upon a diminution of the King's authority.

Just arrived from Whitehall: The King of England led me this evening into his closet, and told me that M. Overkirk had requested of him a particular audience some time before supper; that having admitted him, he had told him that the Prince of Orange not merely repented his conduct with regard to the late King of England, but that he also candidly acknowledged the faults he had committed against his Britannic Majesty now reigning; that he will do every thing in his power to make amends therefor, and to deserve his good graces by an entire submission to his will, and a sincere attachment to his interests, and that he would punctually follow what should be prescribed to him. The King of England told me, his answer had been, he would always see with pleasure the Prince of Orange do his duty, and show a real repentance for the past; but that he could not admit his submissions, nor think the protestations made in his name, sincere; if his submission was not entire and unconditional: That the late King of England and he had established a connexion with your Majesty, to which the Prince of Orange had always been opposed; and that, if he would change his sentiments concerning the interior policy of England, he must also do it with regard to your Majesty, and take a course different from that he had kept for a long time past, with respect to him; that this first step was

absolutely necessary to the end that he might credit what should be told him from the Prince of Orange.

M. Overkirk made no reply to this discourse, which perhaps he did not expect. His Britannic Majesty told me I ought as early as to-day, give your Majesty an account of what had taken place in this respect; and assure your Majesty that no step would be taken but hand in hand with me, and agreeably to what your Majesty will judge most suitable; that the declaration he made to Overkirk, will give the Prince of Orange to understand what road he ought to take to be reconciled with him. I told his Britannic Majesty that I should as early as to-day give your Majesty an account of M. Overkirk's discourse, that however I should take the liberty to represent to him without having had leisure to reflect upon it, that so important a matter ought to have been confided to a man more mature and of more weight than M. Overkirk; that, perhaps he had been advised to go farther than the Prince of Orange had prescribed to him: that this entire submission and such great proffers ought to have been expressed in the Prince of Orange's letter; that I thought he ought to stand upon his guard, and not suffer himself to be surprized by complimentary words which are only in the mouth of an envoy of the Prince of Orange. His Britannic Majesty told me, " do not fancy I suffer myself to be deceived or " amused. You see that at the first blush I wanted to speak " plainly, and take all hope from the Prince of Orange, that " I would admit him to justify himself only, when he should " have thoroughly changed his sentiments and conduct with " respect to the King your master."

I shall duly apply myself to penetrate what may take place in order to inform your Majesty thereof. I know the consequence thereof. I am, &c.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

March 5th, 1685.

I received your Majesty's dispatch of the 26th of February, by the return of the second courier I had dispatched. I gave the King of England an account of what your Majesty commands me to tell him upon the meeting of Parliament, and upon the confidence your Majesty has that he will never suffer himself to be engaged in any thing that might detach him from the connexions he has formed with your Majesty. That Prince declared to me, that he learns with a great deal of pleasure, that the project he had formed to assemble a parliament in the month of May is approved of by your Majesty, and that your Majesty found the reasons he has for doing so, solid and well founded. It is certain that this declaration has been very useful already in calming the minds of the people. The name of parliament is so agreeable to the English, that it may prevent their feeling as lively as they might otherwise do, the re-establishment of the mass in Whitehall, and the profession the King of England openly makes of a religion against which the laws have established very rigorous penalties. It cannot be doubted that the minds of the people are very much dissatisfied with this public religious exercise, which his Britannic Majesty has established without hesitation. They conceive from thence great apprehensions for the time to come, and fear the design has been framed to ruin the Protestant religion, and to tolerate no other besides the Catholic. It is a project so difficult in its execution, not to say impossible, that sensible people do not apprehend it; but the people are susceptible of every kind of impression, and they are made to believe they will see the persecution against the Protestants exercised with as much rigour as

in the time of Queen Mary, when there were more Catholics than Protestants in England.

The King of England and his ministers do what they can to dissipate those fears, and to convince all reasonable persons, that his Britannic Majesty's intention is to govern according to the laws, and not to undertake any thing against the safety of the Protestant religion, provided the parliament grant him the revenue which is absolutely requisite to maintain the government: It is also presupposed that parliament will consent that every persecution against the Catholics shall cease, so that they may live in repose. I am informed that these questions begin to be agitated, and it is already spoken of as what parliament will do when they meet. It is nearly agreed on all sides, that the penal laws against the Catholics will be abolished, and that those will no longer be pursued who shall content themselves with the exercise of the Catholic religion within their own houses; there is not even any doubt entertained but the Catholic Lords will recover their seats in parliament.

The greatest difficulty regards the management of the militia and government. It is upon these points that parliament will be likely to make a strong stand; for it is the interest of the principal Protestants not to suffer the Catholics to have a free access to the administration, because they believe that most places would soon be filled with them. Some medium may possibly be found in that respect. It is already proposed that the Catholics shall have some places of trust in the King of England's household, provided they have neither civil jurisdiction nor military command.

The most important point, and which will be liable to the greatest difficulties, will be that of the revenue which

the King of England contends to have for life. Parliament on the contrary mean to grant it only for two or three years at the utmost, in order to establish an indispensable necessity for assembling parliament more frequently. His Britannic Majesty will leave no stone unturned to avoid being obliged to it; but if it cannot be otherwise, perhaps the King of England will at last content himself with obtaining forthwith for three years the confirmation of his revenue, because he may believe, he will be afterwards able to obtain it for his life-time, and have leisure for putting himself in such a condition that it will be impossible to disturb him in the enjoyment of that which he will then be in peaceable possession of. Something perhaps may be granted to him for the re-establishment of the fleet. It is an expense which parliament likes most to make, and which gives them the least jealousy. It is not possible that there should be made propositions dangerous or hurtful to royalty; but the wisest will be afraid of irritating the King of England, and of furnishing him with a pretence to establish a more absolute government, and to obtain by force what he shall have been refused by parliament; in which case it would be an easy matter for him to increase what he once would have established against the laws. It is also likely, that there will be secretly made divers propositions to him, in order by little and little to detach him from your Majesty's interests, and engage him in other connexions; but it is not my opinion that the King of England will take any step hereupon that may deprive him of your Majesty's friendship. He knows well that it is his firmest and most solid prop.

The great efforts in this respect will not be made so soon, and the cabals which will be formed on that score cannot be

expected to succeed but after a length of time ; and when they see the affairs of Europe in a condition different from that in which they are now. However, it appears to me that the King of England is assiduously attentive to what concerns Parliament, and omits no occasion to take means that the members who are to compose the house of Commons may be favourable to him, and may not run into such extreme resolutions as have agitated the preceding Parliaments. It had been proposed as a means to exclude those persons who may be suspected as being disaffected, to declare that no one of those who voted for excluding the Duke of York from the succession, should be held qualified to be elected or admitted to a seat in Parliament ; but this expedient was not approved of : it would be rendering irreconcilable many persons of whom a better deportment may be expected henceforth. It is the King of England's intention to extinguish as much as it will be feasible, the recollection of what took place with respect to the exclusion ; and the more, because by long established usage no member of Parliament can be called to an account or punished for what he has said in his station of a member of Parliament.

The same reasons obliged the King of England to confirm the principal officers of the household, and not to turn out my Lord Halifax. This moderation is much spoken of in London, and by the zealous Protestants. It is imputed to my Lord Rochester, who, it is thought, had a design in this way to manage the minds and to give a good opinion of himself in the beginning of his ministry. This first step is not approved of by the Catholics ; they think it is a commencement of remissness, and that if my Lord Rochester's advice prevails, they will be at last ruined by the same po-

licy which is now pursued to manage those people who are averse to them and to royalty. They say, the Duke of York had no more dangerous foe than my Lord Arlington, that it is he who first inspired the late King of England with those timid counsels which put him within a hair's breadth of ruin; that the Earl of Danby did nothing but follow the same plan; and that Parliament was solely induced to ruin the Catholics and undertake to deprive the Duke of York of the succession, because he supported that project and always made Parliament hope, that his Britannic Majesty would consent to it, on establishing for him a considerable revenue for his life.

The other officers preserved, except the Duke of Ormond, were always much opposed to the Duke of York's party. It is believed they will only in appearance change their conduct, and that if they meet with an opportunity of showing their ill will, they will not miss it; that meanwhile they can do a great deal of mischief by encouraging those who credit them, and who think they do well by following the advice of persons who occupy the high offices of the court. The King of England took this resolution without much consulting the Catholics whom he trusts most, he spoke to me about it, ever since the affair is made public, and told me he had thought he ought not directly to make a thorough change in the household; that those who remain in possession of their charges will be afraid to lose them, and that the others will entertain a hope to fill them, that all that will produce a good effect on the meeting of Parliament; and that it will always be time enough to make changes when it shall be known how those who are retained in office, conduct themselves; that with respect to my Lord Arlington, there would have been some

cruelty in dispossessing him at his advanced state of life of a charge which he cannot long enjoy; his affairs being besides in no good condition; that if he had changed the others, it would have been said that he overturned every thing the late King of England had established, and that the resolution was taken to change all the remainder as well as the household.

His Britannic Majesty urged the same reasons to the principal Catholics, to prevent their appearing discontented as they are with what took place in this respect. There is a kind of council established, of four persons among the Catholics, on whom the King of England relies most and whose advice has the greatest weight with him. This council is composed of my Lords Arundel, and Bellasis, of Messrs. Talbot and Germaine. The two latter were always attached to the Duke of York, and expected to see great changes in the first hour. Each stand up for a title, and for being Lords of the bed-chamber. Which may be done in process of time, but I do not think it will be before the meeting of Parliament. They fear that the same motives, which impede their preferment now, will not be easily overcome hereafter.

The King of England told me that M. Overkirk had once more repeated to him the assurances of an entire submission from the Prince of Orange, and had offered to him what is called a full power; that he had talked thereupon with my Lords Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin; who had been, all three, for answering in a way that would show, at a future day, whether the Prince of Orange's offers were sincere; that for this reason he had repeated to him, at more length, all he had told him at first, with respect to your Majesty, and had declared to him that, un-

less the Prince of Orange should thoroughly alter his sentiments and conduct towards France, it would be impossible for him to believe that he really intended to side with him, because there was nothing of more importance to him than to preserve the friendship of your Majesty, that it was likewise necessary he should renounce every kind of commerce and connexion with the Duke of Monmouth, and to afford a clear and certain proof of his change in this respect, he was forthwith to cashier the officers of the English troops whose loyalty was suspicious, and who, with good reason, may be thought to be attached to the Duke of Monmouth; That unless the Prince of Orange determined to do all this in a suitable way, Mr. Chidley should not receive any orders to treat with him, nor to see him; and the King of England will not believe that the assuranees of his submission are sincere.

I told the King of England I had had leisure to think upon what he had done me the honour to tell me; but that I could decide upon nothing of my own accord; that I must wait for your Majesty's orders, to the end that I may tell him something which shall have some weight; that I, meanwhile, besought him to consider whether there was any likelihood that the Prince of Orange should have so soon resolved to change his measures and deportment; as he could not yet know to a certainty how peaceful every thing was in England; that it ought, therefore, to be presumed, either that what M. Overkirk said, was put into his head here, or that the Prince of Orange may possibly have ordered him to make all kinds of submissions, in case the affairs in England should be in such a condition as to exhibit no appearance of trouble and disorder; that the Prince of Orange is of such a headstrong temper, and so

little tractable that he would hardly submit to promise any thing, contrary to all that he had done before; that should he promise it, and give strong assurances thereof, there would be very little likelihood that he would candidly renounce the engagements he entered into with the house of Austria, and the other princes opposed to the interest and jealous of the glory of York. That your Majesty, on your part, would not easily render your good graces to the Prince of Orange, and after all he has done, he ought not to hope, that a bare compliment will wipe off the past, and that your Majesty will be capable of easily crediting the assurances which will be given from him: that your Majesty desires nothing more than to see his Britannic Majesty universally acknowledged by his subjects and in the peaceable enjoyment of his crown; but that I had no doubt the submissions of the Prince of Orange would appear to you very dangerous, and that he peculiarly would find a great deal of inconvenience and peril in suffering the Prince of Orange to come hither, who, by his presence would be able to put in motion and give force to the cabals which may be so easily formed, in a conjuncture like the present.

The King of England replied to me that he did not believe the Prince of Orange would choose to ask leave to come hither so soon; that if he came and his conduct proved ever so little doubtful, he should well know the means to bring him again into the right way, and should prevent his exciting any trouble; that if he entirely submitted and had wisdom enough to change his conduct, with respect to external and internal affairs, it would soon be known; that he would not suffer himself to be deceived, and that his principal care would always consist in preserving your Ma-

jesty's friendship, and in not doing any thing that might, in any way, be contrary to your Majesty's interest.

The ministers spoke to me in the same sense as his Britannic Majesty. My Lord Rochester is High Treasurer and has the most extensive credit; therefore he desires every thing that may preserve repose and tranquillity; and his advice is, that the King his master hazards nothing by trying what will be the Prince of Orange's conduct in regard to him, and thinks he ought to be put in a fair way to come to a sense of his duty. He is the Princess of Orange's uncle, and he is therefore inclined to conciliate the reigning King's interests with those of the heirs presumptive. But as he is a good courtier, and knows very well that the King his master will pretty easily become jealous and suspicious of those who lean too much towards the Prince of Orange, he very openly shows that he wishes more than any thing else that his Britannic Majesty should retain your Majesty's friendship, without which, he knows how difficult it would be to support this government. My Lord Sunderland feels well the superiority my Lord Rochester has over him, by his office of High Treasurer. All his application consists in giving as far as any other minister into the sentiments of the King his master, and to preserve a secret share in his confidence by shewing him that he is incapable of being devoted to any body else but to him. I know that he spoke with a good deal of heat to his Britannic Majesty, to shew how much the Prince of Orange might hurt the good condition wherein the affairs are at present; and that an heir presumptive will be looked upon in England, as alone capable of remedying the inconvenience of having a King of a religion different from that of his subjects. My Lord Godolphin, rather inclines towards

my Lord Sunderland, with whom his ancient connexions subsists. He is still very much dejected by the loss he has sustained. He is admitted into the most secret deliberations. The King of England is, in my judgment, very much satisfied with him, and told me he found in him more firmness and boldness than he expected of him.

Meanwhile every thing is here perfectly calm, and nothing appears that might disturb it; but at the bottom, many minds are very much agitated. The people cannot see the mass celebrated at Whitehall, without an extreme indignation, and without fearing it will produce dangerous effects. The disaffected secretly foment these fears, and suggest suspicions that the King of England will not believe himself to be safe, till he has entirely re-established the Catholic religion in England, and deprived the Protestants of the means to annoy them. It would be very difficult to judge whether affairs will remain in the calm wherein they now are; but a refusal to pay the duties which the King of England took possession of, is only wanting to form a contest, which might lead to perilous consequences. It is the opinion of the ablest men that all will be quiet till Parliament meet, and that if matters then proceed peaceably, it will not be impossible to maintain the country in repose. The zeal for the Protestant religion, and the fear of a more absolute government, are seeds of a division which may break out on the slightest occasions which offers themselves, but the wise are afraid of seeing the disorders begin; they still remember the misfortunes of former civil wars, and those who have something at stake do not suffer themselves to be easily stirred up. They are even all of the opinion that Parliament can take the necessary precautions to hinder the progress of

the Catholic religion; and the augmentation of the sovereign power. This is now agitated; and in the provinces they appear to be very much occupied with the elections. It will be possible to form some sort of a judgment of what will happen in Parliament, when it shall be known, of what kind of people the House of Commons will be composed. I know that, though the court takes a great deal of care to have favourites elected, there will be many places where the party of the patriots will get the better, and where persons will be elected whose sentiments will be entirely opposed to the wishes of the court.

I shall take due care to know what cabals are formed, in order to inform your Majesty thereof. I have taken measures to give your Majesty an account of what your Majesty pleased to command me by your dispatch of the 20th. Time is requisite for it. Till now, the places, sea-ports, troops and ships, seem to be in the power of persons who are very much devoted to royalty; but all these would undergo great alterations, if disorders should take place, and the war begin upon a pretence of religion or of a change of the laws.

I do not see any body who believes that the Duke of Monmouth dares so much as to show himself any where. He knows well enough that the King of England would not forgive him. The pardon he obtained from the late King is only good for England; thus he might be very easily tried in Scotland. It is even contended, since he obtained his pardon, that he has had a commerce with some conspirators, which renders him guilty anew.

The Ambassador of Spain asked the King of England, how he desired that the Duke of Monmouth should be treated at Brussels. His answer, according to what that

Prince told me, was, that he ought not to be consulted upon that head; that the Duke of Monmouth's deportment with regard to him, was not unknown to any body; and that to tell the truth, he did not know what designs the Duke of Monmouth could have by remaining so near the coasts of England in the present conjuncture.

His Britannic Majesty told me also the Ambassador of Spain had spoken to him about the treaty of alliance which had been concluded some time ago between the late King of England and his Catholic Majesty, to which he did not doubt his Britannic Majesty thought himself to be bound in the same way as the late King his brother was; that he had answered him, that he had very little information of that kind of matters; that if the Ambassador wished for some explanation thereupon, he might present a memoir which should be examined by his ministers in order to answer him in the usual forms. The Ambassador of Spain was puzzled by this answer, and understood well that the King of England does not hold himself to be bound by the treaty the King his brother had made. I told him that, besides he was not bound by this treaty according to the common rules, he recollected that the late King of England himself thought he was sufficiently disengaged thereof by the refusal of the Spaniards to submit to his arbitrament, and by the alteration in affairs since that time; since after a war a treaty of truce had been made, the warranty of which the King of England had not taken too much trouble to be concerned in; and that it was his business to consider what will suit him thereupon. The King of England told me "I do not hold myself in any way bound by the "treaty the King my brother made with Spain, but I "deem myself very much obliged to preserve the friend-

"ship and the support of the King your master, and I "shall do every thing in my power to deserve them."

I am, &c.

BARILLON.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

March 9, 1685.

M. Barillon, I received your letters of the 26th of February, and the first of this month; and saw with pleasure by the first, that the King of England was as sensibly moved as I could wish for, by the means I afforded you to assist him in his most urgent wants, without waiting for his requesting me to do so; but though I believe that the declaration you made him thereof without any reserve, has produced very good effects, and that it has perfectly well persuaded that Prince how much he ought to rely upon my friendship, and how much he ought to prefer it to any other, nevertheless it would have been well, as I ordered you to do by my dispatch of the 20th of February, to wait till he had felt a more urgent want of this assistance, as it is probable that now, that you have completely explained yourself thereon, his ministers will press you forthwith to put the whole fund into their hands. However I leave it now to your prudence to conduct yourself in this respect, in a manner which can neither displease the King, nor diminish the obligation under which he is to me, for so essential a proof of my friendship.

In regard to what you had engaged me to pay to the late King of England, as you have sufficiently perceived by the orders I gave you, and the letters you sent me, that I only granted two millions of livres for the first payment; and fifteen hundred thousand livres for each of the two

others which ended in the month of April of last year, you could easily have undeceived the Earl of Rochester, and the other Ministers of their ill grounded pretensions; and for the future, as I do not pretend to forsake the King of England in his wants, it is also to be hoped the new Parliament he convenes, will be disposed to give him in the beginning of his reign, all the means which he needs to support his dignity. He ought however to rely so much more upon the continuation of my friendship, as before hand, and spontaneously, I enabled you to give him very effective marks thereof.

The King of England could not take a better resolution for the good of his dominions and the relief of his conscience, than openly to hear mass, and this act of firmness is more capable of inspiring his subjects with respect and awe, than of giving new forces to the disaffected. You have seen by my last dispatch, that he anticipated therein my sentiments, and that I should not have been able to approve a long dissimulation of the religion he professes. You shall also represent to him that I learn with pleasure that his authority is daily better consolidated by the submission of all his subjects, and that I am assured his good conduct will dissipate all the cabals that threatened to disturb the repose of his reign.

My Lord Churchill spoke to me in the sense you wrote to me, and I have ordered the Marshal Lorge forthwith to set off in order to go and condole with the King and Queens of England, and express to the first the concern I take in his happy accession to the crown of his ancestors. Whatever murmurs may be excited by a continuation of the same duties which were granted to the late King of England, there is room for belief that they will be stifled

by the convening and assembling of Parliament; but whatever effect it may produce the King of England acts very wisely by preserving this means to supply the wants of his state. It likewise appears to me that it is more prudent to get himself crowned before the session of Parliament, than when it shall be assembled; I shall be very glad to be informed by you of all the difficulties that may arise upon that business, and of the expedients which shall be resorted to in order to overcome them.

You are in the right to let the King of England know that he ought not implicitly to credit every thing M. Overkirk may advance of himself under the name of the Prince of Orange; but should he even be fully authorized, the King of England is too well informed of the conduct the Prince of Orange has shown toward him when he was only Duke of York, and against the religion he professes, even since the accession of the said King to the Crown, to believe that the protestations which will be made him from the Prince of Orange are very sincere; and if the English Minister at the Hague gives the King his master a faithful account of what he has heard and knows himself of the sentiments of the Prince of Orange, he will easily judge that the only intention of that Prince is to use, against the King's interests, not merely the facility he may meet with to regain his good graces, but also the apparent marks he may receive of the King's good will; and he can not more effectually mortify the prince of Orange and render him submissive, than by rejecting with cold dignity all the proposals he makes to amuse him, and above all, by preventing his passing into England. Continue to inform me with exactness of every considerable event that takes place at the court where you are, as I have no doubt that the new government will furnish you with ample materials.

ABSTRACT OF ONE OF THE KING'S LETTERS TO M. BARILLON.

March 16th, 1685.

It is very likely the King of England who now so openly professes the Catholic religion will soon ask the Pope for bishops of his communion; and as it must not be questioned, that his holiness will select them from the clergy of England, among which, as I am informed, there are many persons infected with the doctrine of Jansenism, I should be glad that you dexterously suggest to the King his interest in a proper discrimination; so that, should the good example the King gives to his subjects be followed, as it is to be wished for, that kingdom may not just emerging from one heresy, fall into another, which would not be much less dangerous.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

I executed with my utmost punctuality your Majesty's orders conveyed by the dispatch of the 6th of April. I endeavoured to give the King of England and his Ministers to understand, that your Majesty had already given him essential marks of friendship by anticipating his wants, that your Majesty would continue to succour him in his necessity; and that your design was to exceed your promises, that, however, your Majesty thought it was sufficient from you to perform, rather than promise, and that without any engagement your Majesty had sent me a fund to a large amount. The King of England declared to me, he was very sensible to all your Majesty has done for him; but he told me the state of his affairs was such that he had to take measures beforehand, and that he could not undertake what

he had resolved on, without being positively assured, of what your Majesty will be pleased to do in his favour; that your Majesty will know by his subsequent conduct how much he is devoted to your interests; that your Majesty will always have it in your power to retract your promise if he does not conduct himself in such a way as your Majesty may wish; that, since your Majesty pleases to succour him it will be laying a new obligation upon him if your Majesty pleases to set his mind at rest by promising what he asks for; because an uncertainty upon this head would not allow him to act with the necessary firmness, and because a doubtful and uncertain conduct from him would make his foes bolder and his friends more timid.

This answer brought me into a deeper discussion with that Prince. I explained to him what had happened with the late King of England; I reminded him that the treaty though it was merely verbal had been punctually executed and accomplished on both sides; that your Majesty had completed the payment of what was promised; and that the late King of England had also closely adhered to the engagement he had entered into, to favour the pretensions of your Majesty against Spain, and not to assemble parliament; that at present your Majesty asks nothing of his Britannic Majesty which can cause him the least embarrassment as your Majesty has no greater desire than to strengthen the general peace; that your Majesty designed however to give him essential marks of your friendship, and to assist him in maintaining his authority and in establishing the Catholic religion; that these two points seemed to be united, and could not be separated; that your Majesty had resolved to contribute thereto from a motive of friendship and esteem for the person of his Britannic Majesty and by

the zeal your Majesty has for religion; that, though there was no express stipulation, your Majesty will be sufficiently bound, by what your Majesty has done in the first instance to continue henceforth what is so well begun, that, therefore it may be relied upon that your Majesty will always be like yourself, and continue to support what your Majesty undertakes upon foundations that will not change.

The King of England answered me hereupon, that he had no right to exact of your Majesty more than your Majesty thinks you ought to do; but that he acted frankly with me in representing his wants, and that the request he has made presupposes all sorts of engagements from him, and a determined will to be entirely devoted to your Majesty, that therefore your Majesty is to prescribe to him what will suit your interests in order to make him follow the course which will be most agreeable to him; that when your Majesty shall be thoroughly informed of the affairs of this country, you will know that it is an important point to begin well, and to enable him not to yield at first; that, however, it is impossible to take a firm and lofty conduct if there is not a sufficient security of adequate assistance; and that it would no longer be the time to negotiate upon the amount when the moment of using it has arrived.

I told the Prince that he saw your Majesty begin by performance, and that, therefore, it was not so essential to stand upon the form and manner of promising for the future; that it was only necessary that affairs here should be put in a fair train, and that, in process of time, your Majesty would not fail to aid the first progress, and to facilitate the success of the designs of his Britannic Majesty in favour of royalty and the Catholic religion.

I had several conferences with the ministers, collectively and separately; they answered me very coldly when I spoke to them together; my Lord Rochester, who is the spokesman, replied to me, they had known already, what I had told the King their master, and that their sentiments could not differ from his; that the necessity of his affairs obliged him to have recourse to your Majesty, that the question now was, the establishment of his authority and securing to the government a safe form; that I knew well enough how very important it was here to be enabled to give and not to receive laws; that it was my business to represent it to your Majesty, and that, as to themselves, they had discharged their duty by sincerely exposing the wants of their master to a friend who could remove them if he thought fit so to do.

I answered him what I had already told the King of England. I discoursed with my Lord Rochester in private; and we have thoroughly discussed the business. I confined myself to saying, that your Majesty executes instead of promising, that thereby it is seen what may be expected from you, that it is unusual to pretend your Majesty should enter into engagements to furnish subsidies for several years, when his Britannic Majesty, on his side, is bound to nothing; that indeed, your Majesty has nothing to ask of him at present; that, therefore, your Majesty claims the right to bestow marks of friendship, without requiring of him any thing beyond what he thinks he ought to do according to the conjunctures that may present themselves; that no doubt can be entertained of your Majesty's good disposition to continue as you began, and that reliance ought to be placed on your sincerity and friendship.

My Lord Rochester told me thereupon, that if he did not thoroughly know the designs and intentions of the King his master, he would not have pressed me to prevail upon your Majesty to supply him promptly with a large sum, and to promise him a subsidy for three years; that what your Majesty does now, ought to be looked upon as a mark of friendship, and that it would serve his master's turn better than a greater engagement, if he had not resolved to unite himself closely with your Majesty and not to flag in process of time; that if he did not act honestly, and consider the friendship of your Majesty as the foundation of the conduct he intends to hold, he would content himself with a temporary or loose connexion; and that he would, after having established himself, take into consideration what resolution he is to take, and that without neglecting the obligations under which he was to your Majesty, he would then be enabled to frame a plan for his conduct, such as he should think to be most suitable to his interests; that from this time forward he intends to enter upon a course which will last as long as his reign and to knit indissoluble ties; that it has been perceived that the connexion formed between your Majesty and the King of England has produced good effects for both; that the same thing will happen if they understand each other well at first; and if your Majesty begins by enabling the King of England to follow his inclination and his real interests.

I answered the minister, that the treaty concluded with the late King of England had been, on both sides, scrupulously executed; that it included mutual terms and advantages, that the same thing cannot be said of what is going on now, since your Majesty has nothing to wish from the King of England, and is yet willing gratuitously to con-

tribute to establish him on his throne, and to enable him to reign peaceably and quietly. My Lord Rochester replied to me hereupon, that the treaty we had formed included no mutual conditions; that the late King had not bound himself not to assemble parliament, nor formally to renounce his treaty with Spain; that your Majesty had well known that in the main you would reap the same advantages, and that the late King of England had also been strengthened in his resolutions, by the succour your Majesty had furnished him with; and had even dispensed with assembling his parliament and defending Spain, when he was the most pressed to the contrary; that the same case may again happen, and though your Majesty asks nothing of the King his master, he cannot resolve to devote himself to your Majesty without renouncing the advantages he might derive from parliament in other times; and from every engagement with Spain: That it will be a question as soon as parliament is assembled to obtain the continuation of the revenues, but that after that, nothing must be expected thereof but hard and perilous terms, which the King his master will never consent to; that, therefore the same attitude would be maintained, which was assumed in the time of the late King, and with still less regard for the Spaniards, since there existed no treaty with them, as there had been one, the execution of which they were always urging. I replied thereto, that it was not a question now to examine, on what terms we had treated in the time of the late King, since the treaty had been executed and fulfilled honestly on both sides; that the conjuncture was entirely different, and that your Majesty expected nothing of his Britannic Majesty and had no other aim but to give him solid marks of your friendship. I remarked, from all that occurred between

my Lord Rochester and me, that he did not enter upon the proposal of a new treaty, and it appeared to me on the contrary that he affected not to understand what I told him on that score. He always confined himself to saying, that we must do as we have done, because we reaped great advantages therefrom on both sides.

My Lord Sunderland comprehended at the first blush that it would be far more adviseable to enter into formal and reciprocal engagements; that the King his master ought to claim every thing that can warrant him your Majesty's friendship. He lays down as a certainty that the parliament, the Prince of Orange and the house of Austria ought to be looked upon as having inseparable interests; that it is impossible to put them at variance; that, therefore, to be on good terms with your Majesty, he must not only abstain from all connexion with them, but even part with them at once; and pull off the mask when it shall be seasonable to do so, that is, when parliament shall have granted the revenues. I maintained great reserve upon the new engagements that might be formed. I contented myself with suggesting the proposal which your Majesty ordered me to make in this respect, and I thought I should bring it on the carpet rather as a natural consequence of what we were treating of, than an overture from your Majesty. My Lord Godolphin spoke to me in the same sense as my Lord Rochester. Though he is in the secret, he has not much credit, and seeks only to uphold himself by a wise and moderate deportment. I do not think that, if his advice was taken, any connexions would be formed with your Majesty which would extend to doing entirely without parliament or to decidedly breaking with the Prince of Orange.

Last evening I had a long conversation with the King of England; we repeated all that had been talked over with the ministers, of which they had given him an account. I perceived clearly that my Lord Sunderland had spoken to him at full length of what we had discoursed upon, and had represented to him the necessity of not forbearing any thing to form a complete connexion with your Majesty. The Prince told me I knew his intentions and designs better than his own ministers, that he had not opened his mind to them so much as to me upon the establishment of the Catholic religion; that before the session of parliament he must conceal his designs, and not suffer any one to descry the point to which he intended to carry the business; that, at the bottom, he knew that his safety depended upon a close union with your Majesty, and upon putting the Catholic religion in a fair way to bid defiance to opposition; that he intends to bring it about as soon as possible; that, however, I ought to represent to your Majesty how important it is to him to be assisted in so great a design, that his first steps with parliament may be decisive; that those who intend to thwart him will not omit any thing that can prevent him from succeeding; that your Majesty will know perhaps too late what ought to have been done, and that what is necessary now is far less than what your Majesty would contribute at a future period, if your Majesty saw royalty and the Catholic religion in a fair way of being destroyed in England.

I told the Prince that he saw what were your Majesty's intentions with respect to him; that I could every day inform you of what takes place here, and that it ought not to be doubted your majesty would take the resolutions which will suit the state of affairs; that your friendship for his

person, and your zeal for religion, would not suffer you to forsake him in his need; that the conduct your Majesty holds towards him would be uniform and consistent, that, therefore, on his side he ought to apply himself to manage a friendship which he judges to be so advantageous to him. His Britannic Majesty told me, on dismissing me. "I "fully rely on what you tell me; but represent to the King "your master, that what he can do now would set my "mind at rest, and enable me to act with a firmness and "confidence which I cannot have if I am not completely "assured."

From all I have been told by the King of England and his ministers, it appears to me that they do not so much insist now upon a promise of a subsequent succour, as upon a present sum. I said, as your Majesty permitted me, that I should by and by have a fund of 900,000 livres; but if your Majesty does not allow me to furnish any thing from this sum, it is just as if there was none; it will not even be believed that there is any, when it is perceived that I do not make the payments when they are required of me.

The King of England would, in my judgment, be fully satisfied, if your Majesty took the resolution to send hither another sum of 1,100,000 livres before the session of Parliament, so that he could rely on employing 2,000,000, during the session of Parliament, that might in time be counted for a year of subsidy, and if it should be agreed upon granting one for the ensuing years, we could let them begin only in the month of October next, and perhaps even as late as the month of January 1686. Your Majesty will give me your commands as to what will best suit your service. I shall hold myself in readiness to execute your orders li-

terally, without doing any thing of my own accord beyond what shall be prescribed to me.

The Dutch ambassadors have had a particular audience, and without ceremony. The same difficulty continues with regard to their admission and public audience; they want to have an Earl of England, as the ambassy to Savoy had; they are not likely to obtain him, and the King of England seems determined not to change any thing in his usual deportment with respect to them.

I am, &c.

BARILLON.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

April 24th, 1685.

M. Barrillon, I received your letters of the 16th, and 19th of this month, and though I had expected the King of England would have been well satisfied with the large succours of money which I promptly caused to be conveyed to you in order to relieve without any stipulation, his most urgent wants, in case the next Parliament should not grant him what he wishes for, both for the establishment of the same revenues during his life, which the late King his brother enjoyed until his death, and for the free exercise of the Catholic religion in his realm; nevertheless that Prince gave you to understand, that if he was not assured from me of a more considerable assistance, he should see himself under the necessity to shew a regard for Parliament which would be very prejudicial to the strengthening of the royal authority, and consequently to the welfare of the Catholic religion; but though he has so much the more ground to depend entirely upon the sentiments of esteem and friendship I entertain for him, so he sees well that I make all

possible dispatch to render him sensible of the efficacy thereof, without requiring of him any other engagements in my interests but those which his gratefulness and sincerity could induce him to take when there shall be any occasion for it; I consent nevertheless to give him still greater proofs of the consideration in which I hold every thing he has represented to you, and of the sincerity with which I intend to concur in every thing which can be advantageous to him. It is for this purpose that besides the 500,000 livres which I caused to be remitted to you, as soon as I heard of the death of the late King, and which you must still have in your hands, I shall not fail to send you forthwith the 900,000 livres I promised you by my dispatch of the sixth, to which I shall order to be added another sum of 200,000 crowns, to the end that you may have in hand, during the session of Parliament, so much as comes to two millions of livres; but as I hear with pleasure that almost all the members are very well affected to the King's interests, and that scarcely more than five or six of them are known to be opposed to him, it is very likely that the prince will not stand in need of very large funds to render the deliberations of the Parliament favourable to him; and that at any rate he will content himself with *promising rewards* to those who shall perform their duty well: I consent nevertheless that you cause to be paid, so much as comes to 400,000 livres, to supply the *gratifications which the King shall find proper to bestow during* that session, and as to the remaining 1,600,000 livers you shall only part with them in case the conduct of Parliament should be bad enough to oblige the King to dissolve it, or he should elsewhere meet with such strong opposition to the establishing of a free exercise of the Catholic religion, as to be forced to take up arms

against his own subjects. In short, my intention is candidly to succour him in case he should really need it, to strengthen his authority and to promote the welfare of our religion; but if his Parliament undertakes of themselves to do what the King desires, my intention is that you reserve the funds which I order to be remitted to you, till it appears to me to be of an urgent necessity to employ it; and nevertheless I consent, as I have just told you, that, before the sitting of Parliament, you deliver to the King's ministers to the amount of 400,000 livres, in case the King should request them. I hope that, after you shall have made known to that Prince my latter intentions, I shall receive in future only thanks for the efforts I am making to promote his interests; but if, contrary to my opinion, they intend to make new attempts to get from me greater succours, it is my wish that you cut off all hope to obtain them, nay, that you should give it to be understood, that I should hear with displeasure that the King was not satisfied with the great proofs I give him of my friendship.

It will be easy for you to get the King of England out of the anguish of mind into which he is thrown by the declaration which the Marquis of Feuquieres, by my command, made to the King of Spain and his ministers, and I dispatch on purpose this courier to you, that you may without any further delay, inform the King of England, that I am so much the more satisfied with the answer of the said Catholic King, as besides that he treats the proposal to yield the Netherlands to the Duke of Bavaria, or to abandon to him the government thereof, as a mere chimera; he gives me moreover positive assurances, religiously to observe the truce and to conform in every respect to its provisions; so

that I have no reason to believe that Prince will make any alterations in the present state of the Netherlands; and as I, likewise, had no other intention but to prevent, by that explanation, all that might disturb the repose of Europe, you can assure the King of England that I shall always use the same diligence to maintain it, and that as long as the Catholic King shall continue willing to concur on his side, in the rejection of similar novelties so contrary to the truce, the public tranquillity cannot be disturbed.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

April 30th, 1685.

I received the dispatch of your Majesty of the 24th of April, by an express courier. I went presently after to wait upon the King of England, in order to communicate to him the answer his Catholic Majesty had given the Marquis of Feuquieres. It is impossible to show more joy than that Prince exhibited, at a piece of news which releases him from very great anxiety, and sets his mind at rest. It was not without ground he feared that a rupture between your Majesty and the King of Spain would render Parliament less manageable than it will be, when all looks calm abroad.

His Britannic Majesty charged me to thank your Majesty for the care your Majesty had taken to inform him thereof by an express, and declared to me that his happiness encreases, wherever he receives marks of your Majesty's friendship.

Ministers were likewise overjoyed at the success of M. Feuquieres proposal. My Lord Rochester is still more sensible than the others to every thing that may maintain peace abroad; it was easy for me to show that your Majesty's

intention only was to prevent what might have altered the repose Europe enjoys, since the answer that was given at Madrid, puts these affairs in a state of calmness and tranquillity which according to appearances, must be durable.

The King of England spoke to me thereof as late as this morning, with a good deal of satisfaction, and thinks himself rescued from a great embarrassment to which he believed he must be exposed, if Parliament had been assembled when the war should have begun between your Majesty and Spain. It seems to me, your Majesty reaps some benefit from what has been agitated upon this matter; because people are accustomed to hear of the Dauphin's right to the crown of Spain, without any appearance of strong alarm in perceiving the possibility of so many realms being united to the Crown of France. They seem at least to acknowledge that if his Catholic Majesty died childless, the right of my Lord the Dauphin and his descendants would be far better than of those who could only pretend to it, by virtue of a renunciation in itself null. I spoke of all this but very slightly, as of a distant matter, but I did not think I ought likewise to suppress what your Majesty alleged as the main ground of what you had a design to do, in order to prevent the Elector of Bavaria and the Archdutches's being put in possession of the Netherlands.

An occurrence has happened within the court, which is of no little consequence. The King of England having resolved to go to the chapel, accompanied as the late King was, spoke of it the day before to my Lords Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin. He told them that having taken the step openly of going to Mass, he thought he ought to go there with the requisite dignity, and accompa-

nied by his guards and principal officers; that they would remain at the gate of the chapel and await there, or return to it at the time when he was to leave it. My Lord Sunderland started no difficulty, nor my Lord Godolphin, who, as the Queen's Chamberlain, usually conducts her as far as the gate; but my Lord Rochester combated with vehemence the resolution his Britannic Majesty declared he had taken, and having to no purpose urged all the reasons he could devise, he freely declared that, unless the King of England positively ordered him to accompany him as far as the gate of the chapel, he would not do it. His Britannic Majesty told him his intention was not to constrain any body, nor to order him to do a thing for which he seemed to have so much repugnance, that his scruples appeared to be ill grounded, and that it ought not to be an excuse for a thing which should be bad in itself, to have it commanded; that he was at liberty to do it or not. The contest was carried pretty far; the King of England did not yield; and would not command my Lord Rochester to accompany him; my Lord Rochester persisted he would not do it without being commanded, and took the expedient, his Britannic Majesty proposed to him to go the same day to a country seat, whether he had previously intended to go on the day following. My Lords Godolphin and Sunderland, as able courtiers, pressed my Lord Rochester to have that complaisance for the King, but could not prevail upon his mind. Your Majesty will judge from this incident, what oppositions the King of England may possibly meet with in process of time, to what he yet intends to undertake in favour of the Catholic religion.

These particulars are very secret; it is, however, probable, that my Lord Rochester intends to gain thereby ho-

nour with the zealous Protestants, and thinks he may obtain authority among them, without being likely thereby to hazard his favour or his place. He will try to make the King of England believe, that what he did is to serve and benefit his affairs; that it is perilous to make too open and premature a declaration; that whatever may happen, he can have no other interests but his; but he has to deal with a very firm Prince, and who bears very impatiently the least contradiction.

Yesterday it was here Easter-day. The Knights of the orders accompanied the King of England with their collars as far as the door of the gallery where he hears Mass. The Duke of Somerset carried the sword, he remained at the door; because it is not customary, that he who carries this sword, should enter the church, except when the King receives the communion. The Dukes of Norfolk, Grafton, Richmond, and Northumberland; the Earls of Oxford, Mulgrave, and many other Lords, accompanied his Britannic Majesty, as he went and returned. It was remarked, that the Duke of Ormond and Marquis of Halifax, remained in the antichamber. My Lord Rochester returned but last evening from the country. This resolution the King of England has taken to go to church with his officers and guards, causes as much noise and more reflections to be made, than when he first publicly went to Mass.

The Dutch ambassadors made no complaint at all of what befell them at Gravesend. M. Avaux sent me word that the Grand Pensionary Fagel sent them orders by the commissioners of Foreign Affairs they should show no resentment, and take no notice of what had happened. They had but one nobleman who went to meet them on the day of

their entry; it was my Lord Tenay, a Catholic, and son-in-law to the late Viscount Montague. Even that brought on some talk, and it was held to be strange, that the King of England affects to employ a Catholic Lord at the first solemn reception that took place since the commencement of his reign, and to send him to the Dutch Ambassadors. They had audience to-day of their Britannic Majesties at Whitehall; my Lord North conducted them thither. I told the King of England what your Majesty permitted me to say concerning the sums which are to pass hither. I drew from him the remark, with how great an application your Majesty meets his wants, and what essential proofs your Majesty gives him of your friendship. The Prince assured me he was very sensible of what your Majesty does in his favour. I shall certainly hinder your Majesty's being pressed for a long while to send new funds, provided your Majesty permits me to use those which shall be here. I neither told the King of England nor his Ministers, that your Majesty allowed me only to furnish to the amount of 400,000 livres upon the two millions which may be depended upon. Such a declaration, if I made it, would entirely destroy the merits of what your Majesty is doing in favour of the King of England and induce here a belief that your Majesty only intends to assist him in case he should be exposed to a revolt. It is not expected that this is the foundation of the succour your Majesty is pleased to grant. His Britannic Majesty and his Ministers have not the least doubt, but you will please to pay what remained due of the old subsidy when the late King of England died. The sum of 500,000 livres, which your Majesty sent presently after, will be sufficient entirely to pay it off.

What I told my Lord Rochester about the sending of new funds hindered his pressing me as he would have done otherwise; but he does not call in doubt, this sum will be furnished when he requests it; I entreat your Majesty to grant me permission for it. Should I refuse it, it would, in my judgment, cause a serious prejudice to the welfare of affairs which, hereafter, it would be difficult to rectify. After paying the old subsidy, there will remain here 1,500,000 livres. I shall do every thing in my power not to diminish this fund, until I shall be very much pressed to do so; but I am so bold as to represent once more to your Majesty that if I am positively forbidden it, and dare not effect some payments, it will be out of my power to uphold the opinion which the King of England and his ministers harbour, that your Majesty sincerely desires his advantage and the establishment of his authority.

I did not clearly enough explain the situation of the affairs of this country, when I occasioned in your Majesty a belief that the money your Majesty will supply will be employed in bestowing gratifications upon the members of Parliament, in order to obtain of them what the King of England desires both with respect to the revenues and the free exercise of the Catholic religion. This is not the course that Prince means to pursue, and nothing is more averse from what he designs to do. His conduct will be firm and resolute. The scheme of buying the votes in parliament which the Earl of Danby had contrived, had such bad success, that it is no longer thought of resorting to it; and, to speak the truth, if it should be resorted to the same inconveniences would arise. The King of England wishes his affairs should be brought to an issue by

the necessity under which Parliament will be to grant him what he has determined to take if it is not granted, that is, the revenues which the late King enjoyed; and, in all likelihood, the Parliament will grant them; but that does not set the King of England at rest and at his ease; for he cannot with reputation and safety forsake the protection of the Catholics; however, it is very likely that he will meet with great obstacles to establish the freedom of exercise for the Catholic religion.

I already know, that cabals are formed among the Lords. It is believed they will be more hard to please on the point of religion than the house of Commons. It is very probable the revenues will be granted, to take from the King of England the pretence to say that he is refused what is necessary for the support of government; but at the same time such precautions will be taken for the safety of the Protestant religion, that it will be impossible for the King of England to admit them without falling in a very perilous and uncertain position. The zealous Protestants already declare quite loud that this Prince has been wanting in what he said to the council, and in what the declaration imported which was published, since he formally promised nothing should be done against the Protestant religion though he has since given a regiment in Ireland to Colonel Talbot, which, as they say, is advancing Popery and beginning the destruction of the Protestant religion; your Majesty can, therefore fully depend upon it, that the King of England will meet with very serious difficulties concerning what he intends to do in favour of the Catholic religion. No means will be omitted to disturb him therein and to weaken the resolutions he may have taken. From what my Lord Rochester has done your Majesty sees

what is to be expected from others in more important matters.

The best and surest means to fortify and maintain that Prince in his good posture with respect to the Catholic religion, and your Majesty's interests, is to see himself assured of a close connexion with your Majesty, and in a full security to be powerfully succoured by your Majesty; I have not the least doubt but he will engage as far as your Majesty can wish for hereafter, and he already thinks to do so by receiving gratifications from your Majesty. If I discontinue all sorts of payments and the King of England and his ministers chose to explain themselves hereupon with indifference, and not to speak of succour as a necessary matter, I should not doubt but this Prince would think himself to be justifiable, and at liberty to take other measures. I cannot too strongly represent to your Majesty how requisite it is to give the King of England and his ministers no occasion for a belief that your majesty is unwilling to contribute to his greatness and his security. I shall apply myself to give so exact an account of what will happen here, that your Majesty shall see to the bottom of all concerns, as much as I am able to unravel them. Meanwhile it is in my opinion, very necessary your Majesty should not suspend the payments, and should allow me to furnish the King of England with what I shall think I ought to give out of the 1,500,000 livres which will remain after fully paying off the old subsidy. I am so bold as to warrant that this money will produce as good an effect as any other your Majesty may have spent. It is a decisive stroke for what your Majesty desires most, that is, for the establishment of a free exercise in favour of the Catholic religion. I entreat your Majesty to recollect that I managed the payments of the past subsi-

dy in such a way that a whole year slipped away without any mention being made thereof. I can have no other views in all this but the interest of your Majesty, who could, by a single disappointment ruin in one day the confidence, which your majesty has been establishing these many years past, of a sincere friendship for the late and present King. I hope your Majesty will do me the justice to be persuaded that I am not wedded to my own opinion, and know as well as any other how to obey implicitly your Majesty's orders. But it is my duty to represent matters as they are, and always to submit to what your Majesty will please to command.

I am, with the deepest respect, &c.

BARILLON.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

May 9th, 1685.

Mr. Barrillon, I am very glad to see by your letter of the 30th of April, that the King of England perceives how great the sincerity of my intentions was in the declaration, which the Marquis of Feuquieres, by my command made to the Catholic King; and that, as I was pleased to content myself with the answer which was given to him from the King, it also put a stop to all inquietude which that business produced at the court where you are. I hope that as this explanation has not been useless in strengthening the peace, it will also much contribute to facilitate to the King of England, the execution of his designs, during the next session of Parliament, and that, by the simple disposition of the present affairs in Europe, he will obtain whatever he wishes for, without needing hereafter any other assistance but what he may derive from his realm.

However, I see by your letter, that you are persuaded that my service requires not only to complete as soon as he shall desire it, the payment of the subsidies, which you had promised from me to the deceased King, but even to grant you the permission to dispose of the remaining 1,500,000 livres when you shall judge it necessary, both to strengthen him in the resolution to establish at any rate the free exercise of our religion and inseparably to attach him to my interests, and prevent his taking different measures; but, to unfold still more particularly to you my intentions, to the end that you may not deviate therefrom, I am glad to repeat to you that, indeed, the principal, or rather the only motive, which induces me to cause with so much speed, such a considerable sum as that of two millions to be remitted to you in order to succour therewith the King of England in his most urgent wants, is my zeal for the augmentation of our religion, seconded by the esteem and affection I harbour for the said King; he ought also to be so much the more persuaded of this truth, as I stipulate no conditions with him, and as my intention to maintain peace in all Europe, gives me no occasion to believe that I can meet with sufficient obstacles thereto to want any foreign assistance: I have likewise a sufficiently good opinion of the King of England's firmness in his profession of the Catholic religion, to be fully persuaded that he will use all his authority to establish the free exercise thereof without requiring to be excited thereto by a premature distribution of money, and which ought not to be employed, if Parliament grant him the same revenue the late King of England enjoyed, and moreover consent to the establishing of the free exercise of our religion; therefore my intention is, that you shall continue the payments of all that remains

due of the subsidies promised to the late King; which amounts, according to the last account you sent me, to 470,000 livres, so that of the 500,000 livres, which, by my command, were remitted so you on the 15th of February, there will be after accomplishing the payments, left to you only the sum of 30,000 livres, which joined to all the remittances that have been or shall be made to you, will make the sum of 1,530,000 livres; and I desire that you keep that fund and dispose of it only in case of the King of England, being unable to obtain from Parliament the continuation of the same revenues the late king his brother had, or meeting with so many obstacles to the establishing of the Catholic religion, should be compelled to dissolve it, and to employ his authority and forces to bring his subjects to reason; I consent, in that case, that you should then assist him with the whole sum of fifteen hundred and thirty thousand livres, either in one or several payments as you shall judge it to the purpose, and that you should at the same time inform me thereof by an express. I hope the King and his Ministers will be satisfied with the orders I give you, at least, they will have no ground for complaining that I intend only to assist them in case of a revolt, and they will see, on the contrary, that it is so much the more my interest that Parliament should spontaneously incline to content the said King, as he will be principally indebted for it to the good intelligence that subsists between me and him; and as it would not be just that he should turn to his own account, and lay up the succours I appropriate for him through the only motives I have just written to you; he can always be assured to receive from me the same marks of affection in case the ur-

genty of his affairs should compel him to have recourse thereto.

Endeavour meanwhile fully to ascertain what negotiations will take place at the court where you are between the King's Ministers and the Dutch Ambassadors for a treaty of alliance with the States General; and take care lest, by acting as candidly as I do with the court where you are, it makes elsewhere engagements prejudicial to my concerns.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

May 14th, 1685.

I received yesterday, by an express, your Majesty's dispatch of the 9th May. I shall take due care not to do any thing beyond what your Majesty prescribes to me; I shall content myself with representing to your Majesty matters in their true light, and after that to follow your orders with the utmost exactness.

M. Avaux sent me a copy of the Dutch Ambassador's letters to pensionary Fagel of the 29th of April. Those letters import that my Lord Rochester spoke to them in a manner which induces them to hope that a closer connexion may be formed between his Britannic Majesty and the states general. I positively doubt that any such conference as is mentioned in those letters was held, and if it was intended here to lay the foundation for a closer connexion between his Britannic Majesty and the States General, it would not be by a conference of the Ambassadors with several Ministers.

I can also hardly believe what is inferred by those letters, that my Lord Preston has been charged to speak to your Majesty concerning the Prince of Orange. The King of England would at least, have told me something about

it, if he wished his offices should succeed; but he often talks to me as having a great and well-grounded distrust of the conduct and intentions of the Prince of Orange towards him. Your Majesty knows well how my Lord Preston spoke to him concerning the Prince of Orange. If this passage of the Ambassador's letters is false, the remainder may likewise be so.

Your Majesty will have seen by the letters I did myself the honour to write to you, that I believe the King of England to be in the best possible disposition to keep up a close connexion with your Majesty, and that it is on this foundation all his designs turn. However, it is certain that the zealous Protestants and the Prince of Orange's partizans leave no means untried to wean him from your Majesty's interests. Nothing will be, at first, proposed to him which might be directly contrary thereto, but they will try insensibly to lead him into secret measures with the Prince of Orange alone, or with the States General. I do not think it will be brought about; and I should rather think the Dutch Ambassadors flatter themselves and take general discourse for special measures.

The affairs of Parliament will not be so easy as it it was imagined. The minds of those who compose the house of Commons seem to be disposed to grant the enjoyment of the revenues; but there are, in the cabals, every day making new proposals which will throw his Britannic Majesty and his Ministers into embarrassment.

There has been a very important matter agitated. It is an opinion generally diffused that my Lady Portsmouth and my Lord Sunderland are the principal causes of the close connexion, that was discovered a few years since between your Majesty and the King of England. They were seen,

in the latter times of his reign, possessed of all the credit. Even my Lord Rochester was perceived to have grown out of favour and on the point of setting out for Ireland; this is the reason why the principal hatred of the past falls upon my Lord Sunderland and my Lady Portsmouth; who are known to have always gone hand in hand. My Lord Godolphin is also involved therein. The factious pretend they were forsaken by them and lay to their charge all the misfortunes that befell them. On this ground is built a design to propose as soon as Parliament shall be assembled, to turn out of the house of Commons all those who in other Parliaments were for excluding the Duke of York from the succession. It is a specious proposal, and looks as being full of respect and zeal for the King of England; but it is designed thereby to irritate against him the minds of the whole nation, and to show, (if he consents to it,) that he does not forget what was done against his interests, and has always in mind to revenge it. It is also a step to attack those of the upper house, who were for his exclusion, and especially my Lords Sunderland and Godolphin, who from the late King treated with the factions and induced them at that epocha to insist on a thing to which they assured them the Prince would at length consent if they held out.

This project is very likely to be supported by people who are not quite out of business. My Lord Halifax still harbours a lively hatred against my Lord Sunderland and underhand animates those he had disposed to harm him.

My Lord Sunderland has already spoken to the King of England to prevent the snare which they lay for him under pretence of driving out those who are called the *excluders*. But if the means fail, others will be tried, and I believe, I know that my Lord Sunderland will be strongly

attacked both by the unabated hatred of the former ministry, and because it is foreseen that he will hereafter have a great share in the confidence of his master, if his connexion with your Majesty subsists, and he persists in his design to establish the Catholic religion.

I believe my Lord Rochester will be spared in the beginning by Parliament. He is thought to be a good Protestant, and is considered as the protector of the Episcopal party. He is seen at the head of affairs, and the treasury is in his hands; he is, besides, brother-in-law to the King; they would think, in attacking him, to furnish his Britannic Majesty with a pretence to dissolve Parliament. But they imagine, they may attack the other Ministers with impunity, and that perhaps my Lord Rochester will not be sorry at what may be done against those who had got the better of him in former times, and induced him to seek a retreat in Ireland.

The Catholics openly side with my Lord Sunderland: and for this reason the minds of the lower house will be more readily excited against him. However he served the King of England very well before he came to the crown, and he laboured so usefully to have him recalled from Scotland, and to restore him to the council and admiralty, that I do not think that Prince will forsake him or suffer Parliament to begin an attack upon his ministers, which would be very prejudicial to the royal authority.

My Lady Portsmouth likewise believes she is to be attacked. That belief compels her to press her departure before the meeting of Parliament. The manner in which the King of England spoke to me concerning her, induces

me to believe she will be satisfied with his resolutions about her concerns.

Your Majesty may judge by what I have now the honour to communicate, that matters will not be so peaceable in Parliament as it was imagined. It is true, the former ringleaders were not elected, but those who compose Parliament will easily become so. Nearly all of them harbour an insurmountable aversion against the Catholic religion, and most of them are hostile to France, and jealous of your Majesty's grandeur. They know well that on the success of this session, the establishment of his Britannic Majesty's affairs depends, and for this reason nothing will be forgotten to create embarrassments to him.

Intelligence has been received that the English refugees at Amsterdam, intend to send arms into Scotland, and have taken measures to that effect; it is the place where it is easiest to excite disorders, as well as in the North of Ireland, which lies close to Scotland. The King of England does not seem to me to be uneasy about the time to come, and expects to manage every thing with facility.

The Dutch Ambassadors had their audience of the Prince and Princess of Denmark. They paid to me the next visit after the royal family. According to what is reported to me by some of their confidants, they are not so contented as they appear by their letters. I shall not forbear to redouble my efforts to find out what is going on concerning that subject.

Very good news arrived yesterday from Scotland. It was a question in Parliament, to grant his Britannic Majesty for his life, the duties of the excise and customs which had also been granted to the late King for his lifetime. Not merely was that done, but Parliament annex-

ed those very same duties to the crown for ever. It is the Duke of Hamilton who proposed it to the Lords, and caused it to succeed by his credit in Parliament.

An equerry of the Duke of Monmouth's has been arrested here; the King of England told me, he had nothing about him, and did not conceal himself, that, therefore, he had been released on giving bail to make his appearance.

The Duke of Norfolk has got the order of the garter. The ribbon became vacant by the decease of the late King of England. My Lord Churchill will be a peer of England; he was only a peer of Scotland before. M. Germaine will also be made a peer, and Colonel Talbot will be created an Earl of Ireland, as soon as he shall have arrived there. All this will be done before Parliament meet.

I am with the profound respect I owe, &c.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

May 17th, 1685, at London.

I see by your Majesty's last dispatch, that it is your resolution to succour the King of England in his wants. It is in this view your Majesty sends here large sums. However, it appears to me your Majesty is not without a suspicion the King of England might take measures contrary to his interests, and form connexions with the States General and the Prince of Orange. My chief application ought to consist in endeavouring to penetrate the business, and I shall omit nothing calculated to inform myself of the most secret events that happen here. My intimate acquaintance with the King of England and his Ministers places me in such a position that it must be my fault if I am deceived. Your Majesty may take it for granted that the King of England has no plan of connexion with the States Gene-

ral, and still less with the Prince of Orange. It is not lightly that I say this with confidence, but upon many grounds, which it would be difficult for me to explain to your Majesty as clearly as I perceive them. It must be granted, however, that the King of England dissembles, and it is important for him to do so until Parliament separate; but I am convinced he will presently after take off the mask and not constrain himself, as he has done till now, to conceal his propensity towards your Majesty's interests; and his design to establish the free exercise of the Catholic religion. I am persuaded he will meet with many difficulties in the execution of this design. There is no appearance that Parliament will consent to it; nay, I question whether his Britannic Majesty will be bold enough to propose it. That will depend upon their first resolutions which will be taken concerning the revenues. But I know beforehand, that, on both sides, their minds are filled with great distrust; and that if Parliament shows any facility in granting the revenues, they will not relax upon what concerns the Catholic religion. This is the reason for my having, till now, persisted with your Majesty to entreat you not to order the suspending of the payments which are expected here. Nay, I should find it very inconvenient to declare to the King of England and his ministers that after paying off the former subsidy, your Majesty will no longer supply him with any thing unless he is obliged to force his subjects to conform to what he desires both with respect to his revenues and the free exercise of the Catholic religion.

I see that your Majesty considers it as an inconvenience that the King of England should be able to lay up and to encrease his own funds with a large sum, furnished from

time to time by your Majesty, which would enable him to subsist comfortably; and then, his authority being established within, and having obtained what he wishes for with respect to the Catholic religion, he would be enabled to determine on the alliances he should form abroad.

If the matter stood so, I should think your Majesty would be concerned to prevent that Prince by a gratification, and insensibly to engage him in your interests by a much less considerable sum than that which your Majesty would spend if once he had taken the resolution to join those who are jealous of your greatness. But the affairs of this country are very remote from such a state of tranquillity. Your Majesty will see, that hereafter the King of England will meet with far greater opposition than is believed. There are already movements among the Highlanders in Scotland. The North of Ireland is not quiet; the factious here have not lost all hope; and your Majesty knows that measures have been taken in Holland to send them arms and ammunition.

If, at a time when every thing is stirring, and the greatest efforts will be made to wean the King of England from your Majesty's friendship, I declared to him and his ministers that your Majesty is no longer willing to succour him, I should furnish a very plausible pretence to those who intend to make him follow a quite different course from that he has determined to keep. I still question if they would bring it about. But it is a peril to which, methinks, it is unnecessary to expose the affairs of this country; which can (if I am not mistaken) be conducted with perfect safety, without your Majesty's hazarding a great deal. I see what is going on; it will be difficult to hide it from me. Thus I shall not give indiscreetly what I shall have power

to spend. I am once more so bold as to entreat your Majesty to allow me (after paying off the former subsidy) to furnish the King of England, pending the session of Parliament, to the amount of 200,000 crowns upon the 1,530,000 livres, which will remain in my hands, after your Majesty shall have sent here the whole sum which your Majesty has determined to send. I shall manage this sum of 200,000 crowns in such a way that your Majesty shall know hereafter that it promoted your Majesty's interests.

Your Majesty permits me by your last dispatch to give the whole sum I may have in my hands, if I see Parliament dissolved, and the King of England reduced to compel his subjects to submission by force. It is not likely that matters on a sudden will come to an open rupture, and I shall always have time enough to inform your Majesty and to receive your orders, provided, however, I am allowed to furnish some sum. In short, Sire, the affairs are here, according to what I can judge thereof, in a very good condition with respect to your Majesty, but I should not pass my word for it if your Majesty deprived me of the power to make any kind of payment, after having paid off the former subsidy. It is sufficient for me to have known your Majesty's intentions, in order not to go too far when I shall have permission for doing so. The King of England thinks in some manner he is himself the judge of his wants; if your Majesty intends entirely to oblige him and to show him a true friendship, your Majesty will refer it to him. If I filled his mind with distrust, though ill-grounded, it would be difficult for me to bring him over again, whereas now I have established a confidence which nothing will destroy provided, your Majesty permits me to do what I shall think entirely necessary for his service. I should not

be imprudent enough to press your Majesty to do a thing which seems to be repugnant to your Majesty, if I did not know the utility and necessity thereof; nor would I lose near your Majesty the little service I may have rendered in this country by advising your Majesty to do a thing that might hereafter be prejudicial or at least useless to your interests. But I should be wanting in my duty and the loyalty I owe to your Majesty, if I did not represent to your Majesty as I do, that it is absolutely necessary I should be left at liberty to give the King of England marks of your friendship at a time when most pains will be taken to stagger him.

The present juncture is critical. It is a question whether the King of England will take a resolution to which he will adhere for a long while. I see, this resolution is taken in his mind, and he is determined to hold himself closely united with your Majesty; it is only necessary to maintain him in this resolution and to hinder him from falling into the snares which will be laid for him.

The letters I received yesterday from M. Avaux strengthen me in the opinion that the letters of the Dutch Ambassadors to Pensionary Fagel, of which copies were obtained, are false and conjectural. There is in it much the appearance of a trick contrived to induce a belief in Holland and elsewhere, that the King of England is entirely disposed to form a new and closer connexion with the States General, and that there is already a perfect intelligence re-established between his Britannic Majesty and the Prince of Orange. I am persuaded that neither is true. The King of England's jealousy against the Prince of Orange is too well grounded and too natural to be easily destroyed; nor do I see any likelihood that the interests of England and the

States General can be easily reconciled on the subject of commerce since, on the contrary it is the foundation of division in the most solid interests of both nations.

The single business of Bantam may, for a long while yet, hinder the forming of a connexion between his Britannic Majesty and the States General: their delegates and those of the India company of Amsterdam have arrived. Conferences will be begun with them. However, I see yet many persons persuaded that business will not be settled. I have been informed by one of the chief proprietors in the East-India-Company, that the King of England is strongly resolved to support their commerce, and to thwart that of the Dutch. That very same person told me, that his Britannic Majesty not long since sent an express, charged with a letter to the King of Persia, to exhort him not to agree with the Dutch, to the prejudice of other nations, and even to offer him assistance, in case the war which the Dutch make upon him, should continue.

I am, with the profound respect I owe, &c.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

May 21st, 1685, at London.

Letters were yesterday received here which import that three vessels laden with arms and warlike stores had sailed either for Scotland or the north of Ireland. The King of England spoke to me thereof, and told me he saw well how little care the Prince of Orange had taken to settle so important a matter, and that if he had taken the necessary measures therefor, he would have been first informed of it, stopped the vessels and sent him word thereof: that instead of doing so they had delayed several days, at the Hague, doing any thing upon the remonstrances of Mr. Skilton,

and obliged him to give in a memoir; that, however, it would have been an easy matter to stop the ships, if it had been intended, that such a slowness was a proof of very little application and zeal from the States General and the Prince of Orange, and does not agree with the fair words that are reported to him from them every day; that he did not design to complain thereof in the usual way, but that he knew well those who really side with him, and those from whom he expects sincere marks of friendship; that however he is neither puzzled nor uneasy as to what will become of those vessels, that he has given the necessary orders to prevent the movements which the factious might excite in Scotland or Ireland; that he has sent some frigates upon the coasts and that in the main he thought he had nothing to dread, being assured of your Majesty's friendship.

I answered his Britannic Majesty every thing I thought calculated to augment his suspicion, about the conduct of the Prince of Orange, and to assure him of your Majesty's friendship. He agreed to what I told him, and gave me to understand that he thought he ought not yet to open his mind hereupon, but he hoped he should no tbe much longer obliged to dissemble; that it was a part he badly played, and for which he was not fit. I have known since that he has spoken with great resentment of their having not prevented in Holland what the English exiles had contrived for the execution of their evil designs; nay, he said loudly in council, that if those whose duty it was, had disharged their duty in the time of the late King and in his own, with respect to the factious that withdrew themselves into Holland, they would not have the trouble now to deliberate upon the means of withstanding the efforts which they employ

to excite troubles. That can only be understood of the Prince of Orange.

The Dutch Ambassadors seem to be puzzled by this piece of news, they say, all possible dispatch was used to stop the vessels, as soon as the States were informed by Mr. Skilton; but that their government is subjected to forms which cannot be trampled upon.

The King of England spoke aloud two days ago, to M. Zitters, upon the business of Bantam, at a pretty high rate, and gave him to understand, that all the nations of Europe, and above all the English were very much concerned that the Dutch should not entirely monopolize the commerce of pepper and other spices. M. Zitters said they pay so dear for that commerce that it ought not to bring envy upon them; nay that they had offered the English merchants who reside in the Indies, to share with them the half part of the spices which they should bring to Europe.

The King of England replied that it was not just they should exclusively preside over the distribution of that branch of commerce and regulate the share others should have therein; that commerce ought to be free, and that being the masters thereof they would put such a price upon goods as they would chuse. The King of England added by turning to me, "It is well known both in France and "Denmark how the matter stands; for the same thing is "done with respect to them."

This discourse uttered in public has increased the uneasiness of the Dutch Ambassadors upon the affair of Bantam. But I do not think that great regard ought to be paid to what is said publicly. It is rather, as far as I can judge thereof, with a design to induce the commissioners

to make offers calculated to content the Company of London.

His Britannic Majesty thinks the Earl of Argyle is in the Highlands of Scotland. He told me he would send there regular troops, and that meanwhile orders were given to authorize those families which are hostile to the Earl of Argyle and the Campbells, to take up arms and to fall upon them. My Lord Dumbarton sets off to-day to command the troops in Scotland and to lead them where it will be seen that the factious intend to make their first attempts.

Colonel Talbot sets also off for Ireland. In the troops which are there many officers have been changed; new alterations are there to be made which are necessary. They wait here with impatience to know where the three vessels loaded with arms and ammunition may have landed. They left the Texel ten days ago. The King of England told me, troops were on board and some officers of those who were broken in Holland. It is not known to a certainty whether the Duke of Monmouth is on board one of these vessels. He was of late at Rotterdam. No doubt is entertained, this enterprize to send vessels is grounded upon a secret understanding with the factions in the country where they are to land, and measures are taken to take up arms presently after. It is feared their troops will increase and the disaffected who are very numerous in the North of Ireland assemble, and form a body sufficiently large to keep the field and withstand the regular troops which will be sent against them, and which cannot even with safety be entirely trusted. All this causes a great talk in London, and happens at the time when Parliament is about to meet.

The least inconveniency that may result therefrom is to render Parliament more difficult to please than they would have been if all had been quiet.

A writing has been published here under the name of the Duke of Buckingham in favour of the liberty of conscience for all Non-conformists. The King of England cold not forbear at first praising that work. He only speaks of it since as of a thing that deserves no manner of regard. But the episcopalians were, for all that, alarmed by, and found great fault with that production. I send a translation thereof, of which your Majesty may get an account; it is the most important matter that can be agitated in respect to the internal state of England.

The party of the Bishops was at the time of the late King of England, looked upon as the support of the throne, and the Presbyterians as well as the other Sectaries maintained the Protestant religion and stoutly withstood what is called the encrease of Popery. But the state of religious affairs is greatly altered since the King openly professes the Catholic religion. All the Non-conformists are in the same predicament with the Catholics. The laws are equally established against both. There is no other but the Anglican church, which is the religion of the state and can withstand all the other sects; it is for this reason looked upon as the only prop of the Protestant religion in general, as there is no other means to oppose the encrease of the religion the King professes but to stick strictly to the execution of the penal laws. They see well, however that it is impracticable to pursue and punish those who are of the same religion as the reigning King; and it even seems that the laws, made against the Catholics, fall of themselves, and are as it were, annihilated, where he, in

whose name they are prosecuted and to whose profit the forfeitures and fines revert is himself of the religion for which it is contended they ought to be punished.

There is now another great embarrassment in all the oaths that are taken by the Protestants. They swear not to acknowlege any other chief of the English church but the King of England; yet it is notorious that he acknowledges another head of the church, and does not believe in the church of England of which the he is the head. These form contradictions which are impossible to reconcile; the least relaxation of the penal laws will be considered by the zealous protestants as a step directly intended to establish the Catholic religion. The essential reason thereof is, that the Catholic religion was the religion of the state, and established by law under the reign of Queen Mary. The laws made under the reign of Queen Elizabeth against the Catholics, have established the Anglican church. If these laws are abolished, or suspended, the ancient religion becomes again the religion of the state, and is re-established in its first rights and force, which even authorize it to pursue the other sects as was done in the time of Queen Mary. All these things will be the subjects of discussion in Parliament unless the business of the revenue is forthwith settled, and the King of England resolves to dissolve or prorogue Parliament presently after, and to take of himself the resolution he will think suitable.

Mr. Oates has been tried, whose depositions served as a foundation for the pretended conspiracy of the Catholics. He was brought in guilty of perjury, and it was proved that he was at St. Omer when he deposed he was present at an assembly of Jesuits in London. He defended himself with a good deal of audacity and impudence: he said

three Parliaments had approved of his depositions and believed him; that at present he suffers for the Protestant religion. When he left Westminster, My Lord Louvelez who is signalized among the factious, embraced him and complimented him upon his firmness. The penalty established by law against perjury is to be put in the pillory, and to have the end of the ear cut off. The sentence will be executed, and then Oates will be imprisoned again and retained there a long while, being doomed to pay large fines for scandalous discourses he held against the Duke of York. He cannot according to law be vexed or pursued for the falsehoods which he invented against the Queen Dowager of England and the Catholic peers, as there are no penalties established against calumny. Some think it would have been better not to bring Oates to trial at this time, and that it would have also been much better not to pursue him at all since the condemnation does not go farther than the pillory, which is not a punishment proportionate to his crime.

I am with the profound respect, I owe, &c.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

May 25th, 1685, at Versailles.

M. Barillon, I received your letter of the 24th of May by the post, and that of the 21st of May by the return of the courier I had dispatched to you. I have no doubt you will employ to a good purpose the falsehood which appears in the pretended letters of the Dutch Ambassadors to Pensionary Fagel, in order to show the King of England and his Ministers that the Prince of Orange only assumes the appearance of a good understanding with the King of England,

in order thereby to encrease his credit in the United Provinces; but that at the bottom he always intends to maintain a secret correspondence with the disaffected in England; and nothing can better persuade the court where you reside thereof, than the Prince of Orange winking at the fitting out of three vessels in Holland to carry the chiefs of the disaffected, and as many arms and warlike ammunition as they want, to excite seditions and arm the rebels either in England, Scotland or Ireland. Therefore you are right in not believing that the English Envoy is charged from the King his master to speak to me in favour of the Prince of Orange; and he only told Croissy that the said King had explained himself by saying, that he could not have any close connexion with that Prince as long as he should not be on good terms with me.

I am, in the mean time, glad to hear that the King of England has no cause for apprehending the passage of the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and Mr. Gray, nor any of the attempts which the dissaffected could make pending the session of Parliament; and I hope nevertheless that he will take every necessary precaution to secure himself against their foul designs.

Nor do I see that he enters upon the proposal which they intended to make to him, to turn out of Parliament all those, who in the foregoing assemblies were for excluding him from the succession; and as their number is great, and the interest they will have to wipe off this stain by considerable services, will, in all likelihood, induce them to serve him more usefully than those would do, who were always the most devoted to his person; prudence and a just and enlightened policy requires of him to show that he entertains no manner of resentment for what was done against

him, before he came to the crown, and only proposes, in process of time, to distinguish those who shall serve him well, from others who may show by their behaviour, that their actions only originated in a mere spirit of cabal.

Your last letter shows me that there is a greater disposition than was first believed, to pernicious movements both in Scotland and Ireland, and upon this foundation you reurge that I should permit you to employ, besides the 470,000 livres that remain to be paid of the subsidy promised to the late King, at least 600,000 livres upon the 1,530,000 livres which are in your hands, after all the funds shall be remitted to you which I appropriated to assist the King of England. But as the order I gave you by my dispatch of the 9th, appears to me sufficient for the satisfaction of that Prince, I do not think proper to change any thing in it, insomuch more as causing the whole sum I permit you to give, in case of urgency, forthwith to be remitted to London, the King may well judge that I do not intend to refuse the necessary assistance. You may inform me daily of what occurs; I shall also give you my orders with the same punctuality according to the different events.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, June 1st, 1685.

M. Barillon, your letters of the 21st and 24th May, show me that though the King of England expresses no uneasiness about the preparations which the English outlaws are making both to return to England and to excite some movements either there, in Scotland, or in the North of Ireland; nevertheless the court where you reside, and the principal merchants of the city of London, do not appre-

hend that the enterprises of those factious people will produce any consequences that can disturb the commerce and repose which the English enjoy at present. I am glad to hear that the King has given effectual orders to frustrate the designs of the rebels, and puts his chief confidence in my friendship.

He may also expect a continuation thereof, as long as he continues faithful to the engagements which the late King his brother and himself have made with me; and as the language which the public put in his mouth upon all that relates to my interests do no not agree with what I ought to expect from him, you are to observe very carefully what are his real sentiments, and to inform me of every thing you shall hear that he may have uttered upon this subject, either in his private conversations, or in the speeches he may have delivered to the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers; so that after having given proofs of my zeal for the restoration of the Catholic religion in England, and of my friendship for that Prince, by the succours which I have directed to be remitted to you, I do not contribute, if he harbours ill designs, towards enabling him to withstand every thing that may be to my satisfaction; and you cannot give me too exact an account of the manner he treats you, of all he tells you about the present state of affairs, and you can penetrate his intentions, both with respect to the alliances he proposes to form hereafter, and the measures he intends to pursue with his neighbours.

You can however assure him that there is no foundation for the advice he received that the Marquis of Boufflers had orders to overrun Spanish Navarre; that as to the squadron of my ships which under the command of M. Freuil-

ly, I sent towards Cadiz, he is only ordered to facilitate the commerce of my subjects, and the return of the merchandize which they have on board the India fleet. You also know that the Marshal d'Estrées is only to make war with the ships he commands upon the Tripolitan pirates; thus there is nothing new in these orders, or of which you have not already been apprised.

You conceive well that every thing which henceforth may happen in England deserves the greatest attention: and I have no doubt you will use all your diligence to be well informed thereof, and to give me an exact account of what you shall learn.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

28th May, 1685, London.

M. Avaux will have sent your Majesty the copy of a letter of the Dutch Ambassadors, on which it seems to me he makes many serious reflections. I have no doubt that some Ministers speak to those Ambassadors in the sense they write, and that these latter indulge hopes upon the time to come; but I have no ground for believing that those hopes are well founded. I persist in what I had the honour to write to your Majesty formerly thereupon.

The King of England seems to me to perceive every day more distinctly how necessary your Majesty's friendship is to him. All the attempts that may be made to stagger him will be of no avail, if your Majesty on your side, does all that is necessary to confirm him in his present sentiments. I should not be imprudent enough to assure your Majesty thereof, did I not believe that I possess decisive proofs.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, June 2d, 1685.

The vexation and uneasiness this piece of news may cause to the King of England have been very much lessened by what happened yesterday in Parliament. The House of Commons granted to his Britannic Majesty for his life-time, the same revenues which the late King his brother enjoyed: it was unanimously resolved upon. Mr. Seymour alone opposed it, but he harangued to no purpose against the form of the elections, and upon the peril wherein they stand to see the Catholic religion and a government against the laws established. His speech was neither followed nor applauded by any one.

The upper house deliberated, at the same time, upon the affair of the Lords accused of high treason, and annulled a regulation of their own house, which imports that impeachments entered into by the lower house shall subsist from one Parliament to the other. This had been done to perpetuate the accusation against the Earl of Danby and the Catholic peers, who by that means were always *liable* to be condemned upon the testimony that might be brought in against them. They are now free from the accusation; and to pursue them it would be necessary to begin a new accusation and a new trial. This determination of the upper house annuls every thing that was done upon the pretended conspiracy of the Catholics, which otherwise would have subsisted: it is a very important stroke with respect to his Britannic Majesty. My Lords Devonshire, Anglesea, Clare and Radnor, opposed the motion and only proved their disaffection.

The King of England spoke to me last evening with great warmth of his attachment to your Majesty, and of his desire to preserve your friendship, and to augment, if possible, the existing connexion. He told me that he thought himself to be in a better condition to act according to his inclination and interests, since he is possessed of the revenue the late King his brother enjoyed; that he should however always stand in great need of your Majesty's friendship and succours to execute the projects he has formed, and without which he cannot be safe; that your Majesty should see how carefully he will manage the honour of your good graces, and how firmly he will adhere to your interests; that Prince then told me the particulars of the news from Scotland, and added that he had no doubt but the Elector of Brandenburg and other Princes of Germany, had underhand contributed to the enterprise of the Earl of Argyle, and he would be supported by all the Protestant powers in Europe, which pointed out to him the course he ought to follow and whom he could trust. I told him I would inform your Majesty of what was going on, and could assure him beforehand your Majesty would omit nothing to support him and to give him essential proofs of your friendship.

The letters I received from M. Avaux of the 29th of May, show me that the Dutch Ambassadors who reside here, write as if they were persuaded that the King of England is entirely disposed to form a new and closer alliance with the States' General.

Your Majesty will judge what is to be done here for your service in the present juncture. I shall keep myself ready to execute your orders without advancing beyond the payment of the old subsidy. I do not question but my

Lord Rochester, nay the King of England himself, will soon urge me to supply them with money from the funds which they know to be here. I imagine the event referred to in your Majesty's orders is nearly at hand; since there is a rebellion formed in Scotland, which has its roots and branches in England and Ireland. I shall await the orders your Majesty may be pleased to give me; but what is to be done soon and of your Majesty's own accord, will, in my judgment, have far more weight and merit than the succours which may be granted when they are solicited with impatience.

I know that large sums are not furnished usually without previous stipulations and positive assurances of the effect they are proposed to produce. I make no doubt that the King of England will hereafter enter upon all the engagements your Majesty may desire. I did not open my mind hereupon, because I had no positive order from your Majesty to do so; nay I was apprehensive, if I had began to talk thereof, that terms would be requested which perhaps might not suit you, such as not to conclude, on your side, any alliance with other princes. This equality is neither rational nor admissible between your Majesty and the King of England, whose power is so different from and unequal to yours. But the English always presume more upon themselves than they ought, and those who wish to hinder or weaken the connexions between your Majesty and his Britannic Majesty would perhaps find expedients in the provisos of a treaty to elude the ends thereof. I make this reflection beforehand upon a matter which is not yet talked of, but which may come to be a topic of discussion in time.

The only question now is what your Majesty will have me do with the money you sent hither? It appears to me that the King of England proportions his engagements to the money which he receives from your Majesty, and that it is the best and surest means to render ineffectual all the attempts that may be made to stagger him, and to induce him to take a course contrary to your Majesty's interests; I think I see this clearly, and that it would be perilous to leave the King of England without supplies, at a time when he may most want them. Parliament have, indeed, granted him the revenue of the late King; they may even, hereafter, give something for the fleet; but civil war is begun in Scotland, and I find very sensible people, who are persuaded that the Earl of Argyle's enterprise is of a more serious nature than it first seemed to be.

As soon as the act for the supply is past, the affairs which concern religion, will be brought on the carpet, and many other matters. I think it would be useful, at that time, for your Majesty's service, *if some members of Parliament could be managed, and inspired with a conduct such as suits your Majesty's interests.* A sum of 1500 or 2000 pieces would be sufficient to preserve to your Majesty a credit which you might possibly want in other times. I shall do nothing on that head, even if I had permission for it, but with great precaution.

My lord Montague waited upon me before his departure for France: he strongly pressed me to write to your Majesty about the complete payment of what remains due to him. He told me that instead of 50,000 crowns which are due to him, he would content himself with a pension during his life, which he pretended could not be less than 2,000 livres: he thinks it would be a means to pay off what is legitimate-

ly due to him, without your Majesty's being obliged to disburse a large sum; and that it would even be a guarantee of his conduct at all times, since your Majesty could stop the payment of the pension, if your Majesty was not satisfied with his conduct. I could not forbear giving your Majesty an account of this proposition. It is certain that my Lord Montague has rendered a great service: he is himself to speak thereof to M. Croissy.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, June 4th, 1685.

Mr. Seymour's speech has made a great noise in London, and at court; though it has not retarded the resolution of the Lower House, concerning the appropriations, but in process of time this discourse will be often talked of, in which most important matters have been fully investigated. Mr. Seymour did not oppose the motion to grant the King of England the revenues which the late King enjoyed; but he proposed to put off deliberating thereupon, until the forms by which the members of Parliament were elected, had been examined. He asserted that the elections were, for the most part vicious, and carried by cabals, and by authority, directly contrary to the laws of England, which establish an entire freedom on the subject of elections; so that, the least bribery being proved renders an election void; that the sheriffs and other officers who had presided over the elections, had all been appointed in virtue of new writs issued not long since, in lieu of the old ones that were called in and annulled; that the example of what had been done with respect to the city of London, in annulling its charters and privileges, had been followed in the other towns and boroughs, though according to the laws and cus-

toms, it is not in the King's power to repeal nor to render void, charters granted by the Kings his predecessors confirmed by time immemorial, and the express, and tacit approbation of several Parliaments; that therefore the principle of the elections being vicious, the deputies were not really members of Parliament, chosen by the nation with requisite freedom and in the usual way; that yet there had been no time, in which it was more necessary to have a Parliament composed of persons well disposed and attached to the laws of England, because the nation was in evident peril, when its laws and religion were altered: that the English people's aversion against the Roman Catholic religion, and their attachment to their laws, were so well established in their minds, that their religion and laws could only be destroyed by acts of Parliament; which would be no difficult matter, when a Parliament is entirely depending on those who may have such designs; that they were already talking of abolishing the test-act, which was the only rampart capable of preventing the introduction of Popery; and that, as soon as that obstacle was removed, the Papists would easily attain to offices and employments, and the establishment of their religion, upon the ruins of the Protestant religion; that it was also said to be intended to repeal the Habeas-Corpus-act, which is the firmest foundation of the English liberties; that if that act were repealed, arbitrary government would soon be established; that what he advanced was known to every body and wanted no proofs; that therefore before they took any important resolution, it was necessary to examine the validity of the recent elections and to decide according to the rules established in England, whether the members were capable of constitut-

ing a true and lawful Parliament, competent to represent the nation.

This speech was pronounced with great energy, and secretly approved of by many persons; but nobody rose to support it. Those of his party thought they should do it to no purpose, and that any contest that should arise would only shew their weakness and small number, in comparison with the others who believe themselves to be elected. These same questions will often come into discussion hereafter, and will serve as a foundation for every thing that may be alleged against the measures of the Parliament now assembled. Those who dispute its power have no other judges but the very same persons, the validity of whose elections is contested. It was this sent to the tower, for a considerable time, those peers who, some years ago, intended to maintain that the Parliament was not a true one, and who were at length obliged to retract. The Earl of Argyle's eldest son, whose name is my Lord Lorn, came and delivered himself up to the King of England and offered to serve against his father. There is another of his children with him. They think here every day more seriously of the state of affairs.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, June 7th, 1685.

News was received yesterday from Ireland which imports that the Earl of Argyle had landed in the island of Man which belongs to him. The 500 men which had been placed there by the Marquis of Athol, had already withdrawn. Many of the inhabitants left it also, in order not to declare in favour of the Earl of Argyle. It is thought here, it would be impossible for him to remain long in that

island unless he were succoured by the people in the North of Ireland. They seem not to be disposed to it. His Britannic Majesty's troops have advanced and occupied the positions best adapted for hindering the people from assembling or undertaking any thing: for this reason it is said here that the Earl of Argyle's enterprise will not succeed. It is however not known yet what is the state of affairs in Scotland, where he first landed, and where it was reported he left one of his sons to assemble the country people who side with him. Nobody doubts but his design is founded upon the hope that the Duke of Monmouth would attempt at the same time to excite a revolt in England; but it is believed the Duke of Monmouth dare not venture upon coming hither, till the trial is made in Scotland. The act for the grant of the revenues, will be past in three or four days. It was read for the second time in the House of Peers. Parliament do not meet to-day; because it is the ascension-day, nor to-morrow, because it is the anniversary of the re-establishment of the late King of England, the festival of which they mean to celebrate.

A very important thing happened the day before yesterday, in the Lower House. It was proposed in the morning the House should form itself into a committee of the whole, in the afternoon, to consider the King's speech, upon the subject of religion, and to know what ought to be understood by the term *Protestant Religion*. The resolution was unanimously adopted, and without opposition an address was voted to the King, praying him to issue a proclamation for the execution of the laws against all the Non-conformists in general, that is, against all those who do not openly belong to the English church: this proclamation applies to the Presbyterians and all the sectaries, as well as to the Re-

man Catholics. The malignity of this resolution was immediately perceived by the King of England and his Ministers. The chief of the Lower House were assembled as well as those whom his Britannic Majesty thinks to side with him. He gave them a severe lecture for having suffered themselves to be seduced and hurried into so dangerous and so inadmissible a resolution. He declared to them, that if they persisted to make such an address to him he would answer the Lower House in terms so decisive and firm, that they should not return to make him a like address. The manner in which his Britannic Majesty expressed himself, produced its effect; for yesterday morning the Lower House revoked unanimously, what had been resolved in committee of the whole the day before.

Many reflections are made here upon this mark of condescension and submission which the Lower House have given. But those who know the motive of the first proceeding perceive that the second is forced, and that what is done by authority does not disguise the reality of the intention having been to give a blow to the Catholics, nay to give the King of England to understand how difficult it would be for him to obtain from Parliament any thing in their favour.

The Prince has shown a great deal of resentment against his household, and other persons particularly attached to the royal person who through malice or ignorance favoured a resolution so little respectful to him; he knows how ridiculous and dangerous it is for him to be besought by Parliament to pursue with rigor the execution of the laws against the Catholics and Non-conformists. However he derives from thence this advantage that he has been made acquainted with the concealed intentions of the Low-

er House and has exercised a stretch of authority by obliging them to retract as early as the next day a resolution unanimously passed.

His Britannic Majesty takes it very ill of the Bishops, who under a pretence of zeal for the English Church, had caused so absurd and dangerous a resolution to be taken. The persons, opposed to the court, feel a secret joy that the Lower House has let the whole world see what their sentiments upon religion are. They make little account of their having been obliged to retract, hoping that on some other occasion they will have more firmness, and that the King of England will not always have it in his power nor be willing to exercise his authority.

It was a question in the Lower House to depive of their seats those who had been for excluding the Duke of York from the succession; but the leaders of the house were ordered to oppose that proposition; thus it was dropt. It was an attempt against several of the Ministers who have now the King of England's confidence.

From what happened yesterday and the day before yesterday it may be perceived how difficult it is to foresee what Parliament may do. For that reason it is already said the Parliament will not remain long in session. They desire themselves to be prorogued or adjourned as they well see that they are unable to take any important resolution, and to maintain it when it shall not be agreeable to his Britannic Majesty. They are also very much incommoded in their house which is too small to contain the members it is composed of, which is five hundred and thirteen persons. It is however likely that the court will make some new attempt to oblige them to give something for fitting out the fleet for Sea.

The Commissioners of the India Company of Amsterdam and those of the Company of London have met. They do not seem yet to be disposed to agree together or cordially to approach each other. Those of Holland want to get time and to treat by memorial with the usual delays, the English wish for abridging the matter and coming to the point, that is for agreeing upon the restitution of Bantam. The Dutch would hardly accede to it with sincerity.

I know that in the private assemblies which are formed by the members of Parliament, it has been agitated to propose something with respect to France, and to chalk out for the King of England the course he should follow. No seeming pretence has been found to propose any thing upon that head at present. If any opportunity for it should offer itself hereafter, it will not be missed, both from evil dispositions to the King of England, and to embarrass him by the jealousy of your Majesty's greatness, which of course hangs heavy on the minds of Englishmen. In one of those conferences it was a question to present an address beseeching his Britannic Majesty to endeavour to preserve the repose of Europe. This proposition was deemed to be too general and liable to misinterpretation; nay, it was thought it might afford his Britannic Majesty an occasion for uniting himself more closely with your Majesty under pretence of preserving the peace of Europe.

The King of England has just told me, that an express has arrived from Scotland, who left Edinburg on the fourth of this month; that the Earl of Argyle entered the country of Cantire which belongs to him; it is a narrow piece of land stretching towards Ireland. He advanced as far as the county called Argyle to meet the Marquis of Athol's troops, and to hinder them from joining the other royal-

ists. The letters state that the Earl of Argyle has 3000 men with him. His Britannic Majesty's opinion is that they will still augment. His son is in the country of Lorn, and it is easy for them to join. All the letters coming from Scotland induce the belief that the Earl of Argyle expected the Duke of Monmouth would endeavour to excite a revolt in England.

I am, with the profound respect I owe, &c.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, June 15th, 1685.

M. Barillon, I received by the post your letters of the 4th and 7th of this month, and by the courier you dispatched to me that of the 10th, which contains nothing more remarkable than the preceding ones, except the reasons you think you have to believe that the good of my service requires I should give you power to deliver to the King of England the sum of 100,000 crowns besides, and beyond what remains due to him, on account of the subsidy promised to the late King his brother. But, it appears to me, on the contrary, from all that your letters contain, that the Prince stands in less need of my assistance now, than he ever did since he came to the crown. And indeed I see first that all the remonstrances Mr. Seymour has made in the Lower House, and every thing he has said to attack the validity of the elections, served only to determine Parliament more promptly to continue to the King the same revenues which the late King his brother enjoyed; that on the other hand the noise produced by the Earl of Argyle's landing in Scotland with a small retinue of rebels, ill provided in every respect and little capable of a great enterprise, has caused Parliament also to take the resolution to grant the King further

supplies to the amount of 1,600,000 pounds sterling, which will make more than 20 millions of livres, that finally as soon as that Prince showed how disagreeable the proposition would be to him which the whole house of Commons had passed to request a proclamation for the execution of the laws against the Non-conformists, they rejected with a common consent their previous resolves in the committee; so that it may be said that a King of England never acted with more authority in his Parliament than this Prince does at present, and that there is nothing he ought not to expect from them for the strengthening of his authority, and the punishment of the small number of rebels that were bold enough to show themselves. Thus I have cause to hope that not only he will not desire from me in the present juncture any other assistance, beyond what I promised to give him, that is, the payment of the subsidies that remain due; but even that he will rest persuaded that the public testimonies of my friendship and the fear of the succours which I should not fail to give him if he had wanted them, have much contributed to maintain his subjects in obedience and to make him obtain from his Parliament every thing he desired of them till now.

There remains therefore nothing more to be done both for my own and his satisfaction, than to obtain the repealing of the penal laws in favour of the Catholics, and the free exercise of our religion in all his dominions, and you know that it is also the principal motive which induced me to send you with so much dispatch such large sums of money. But as that Prince does not, as yet, deem it proper to attempt that measure I do not want either to press him to run the hazard of a refusal in so important a business, and for the success of which his prudence requires he

should take effective measures. I should now, nevertheless think that as Parliament seem to be disposed not to refuse him any thing, whether they are actuated by good-will alone, or that fear has a share in it, that Prince would act very wisely in profiting by it and deriving thence what he desires in favour of our religion, without allowing them time for recollecting themselves, and concerting with those who are most incensed against our religion, the means of retarding its progress; and if the King took this resolution and met with any obstacle which he could only surmount by my assistance, I should assuredly grant it to him as soon as you should have informed me of his wants. But until he takes and executes this resolution, it is not my intention to change any thing in the orders I gave you; and I will have you keep the funds I sent you, and not dispose of them unless I deem it necessary. Therefore, if the Lord High Treasurer of England should press you to make him some payments beyond the old subsidy, you are simply to tell him, that as Parliament conduct themselves according to my own and the said King's wishes, I have no cause to believe that the King can now stand in need of any extraordinary assistance, and that therefore you have no power to dispose of your funds.

I send you the letter in my own hand which you proposed to me to write to the King, both upon the satisfaction his Parliament gives him and what regards the movements in Scotland, and I desire that on both points you should only speak conformably to what I write to the King, and what this dispatch contains, as I do not deem it to the purpose to make an open offer of troops to a Prince who asks me for none, and for a service which he can effect by his own forces.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, June 18th, 1685.

There are people here who would saddle upon France the suspicion which is thrown upon the city of Amsterdam, as if there was sufficient intelligence between your Majesty and that city to presume that every thing that is done there, is concerted with your Majesty.

The King of England rejects with indignant disdain what is said in his presence of the interest your Majesty has to keep up divisions in England. That Prince declared quite aloud that the rebels are supported and aided by the zealous Protestants in other countries, and holds every thing to be ridiculous which is said in opposition thereto.

I am with the profound respect I owe, &c.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, July 13th, 1685.

M. Barillon, I received your letters of the 2d and 5th of this month, and they gave me so much the more satisfaction, as they leave me no room for doubting that the King of Great Britain will find the same facility in dispersing the small remains of the revolted in England, as he had in punishing the rebellion in Scotland; and as the Duke of Monmouth has already lost his vessels, and has no considerable town to which he can retreat, it is very likely that he will soon undergo the same fate as the Earl of Argyle, and that his wicked attempt will have served to make the King of England far more absolute in his kingdom than any of his predecessors were.

I am told, however, that besides the three English regiments which he calls *back from Holland*, the Prince of

Orange has moreover asked for him from the States' General a succour of 3000 men; nay, that he has requested some of the Elector of Brandenburg; and as till now, it appeared to me by all you wrote to me, that the King would not employ foreign troops in order not to give any umbrage to his subjects, I shall be glad that you let me know whether it is by his orders the Prince of Orange made that request, as the latter, for his peculiar ends, may possibly desire to have a great number of troops in England devoted to him, and of which he could dispose hereafter against the interests of the said King.

Continue likewise to inform me exactly of every thing that may take place in the court where you reside, in such an important conjuncture, and not to let any thing be wanting on your side to get accurate intelligence, and to give me an exact account thereof.

As I see with pleasure that the English Parliament amply supplies all the wants of the King of Great Britain, and that that Prince will not even meet with any obstacle to the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, when he shall intend to undertake it, after having totally dispersed the small number of the revolted; I thought it proper to have the funds returned which I had ordered to be remitted to you to support in case of urgency the designs which that Prince would form in favour of our religion. Thus my intention is, that if that money is at your house, you cause it to be remitted at several times through the hands of bankers with the same secrecy that it was sent, and if possible in a still more impenetrable way, as I desire that, whether it remains in the hands of the said bankers or at your house, it shall be sent back by the same means and remitted into my

treasury, until I shall deem it necessary to use it in behalf of the King of England.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

July 16th, 1685, London.

I could not, after the separation of Parliament, delay explaining myself to the Lord High Treasurer, concerning the applications addressed by him to me, to continue the payments of the subsidy. I told him that I could not dispose of the funds which had been sent hither without receiving further orders; that these funds were destined only for the most urgent wants of the King of England, and that this urgent want did not appear now, after Parliament had granted very large sums for the encrease of his revenues during several years, and had even granted an extraordinary supply; the advantage of which could be received from this time forward by the means of a loan.

I well foresaw that this discourse would not please the Lord High Treasurer. He appeared to me amazed, and gave me to understand that he could not imagine what reason your Majesty had for stopping the payment of the sums conveyed hither, at a time when the King his master most wanted them, and when he expected to receive further marks of your Majesty's friendship; that Parliament had, indeed, granted taxes for several years besides the revenue, but that what could be got therefrom was not realized, and that if those funds were consumed beforehand, the King his Master would hereafter be in a very bad predicament; which he could not too carefully avoid, knowing in what embarrassment a King of England is thrown, who depends much on his Parliament; that he did not think your Majesty was fully informed of what is taking

place in England at present; and that at a time when a civil war is lighted in the heart of the Kingdom; and the King his master not merely wants his forces but the succour of all those who are concerned in his preservation, your Majesty intends to cut off the subsidies which you furnished at a time when he less wanted them, and when that cutting off would not have been of any moment; whereas in the present conjuncture, the supplies of your Majesty are not only useful but necessary. In short, that Minister omitted nothing to show me that what I had told him was a disappointment, the motive of which he could not penetrate; as he did not think that your Majesty had changed your sentiments towards the King his master, nor would you (if you had) show it on an occasion like the present.

I did what I could to explain to the Minister that your Majesty had simply concluded that the King of England was in a condition not to need any foreign assistance; that the Earl of Argyle's revolt had lasted so short a time, that it was only to be considered as a futile attempt of the factious party, which had not been of the least moment; nor was it imagined in France, that the Duke of Monmouth's enterprise could meet success, and that it was daily expected to hear that his troops had dispersed, and that he had been taken or had made his escape; that your Majesty had shown your friendship to the King of England, by so promptly sending funds for his most urgent wants, and that you also reserved them for an occasion which seems not to have arrived.

The Lord High Treasurer replied to me, that during the King's reign, there never would happen such a pressing occasion as the present one, and that he could not imagine that

your Majesty if fully apprised of what is taking place here, would leave him to disentangle so intricate a business without giving him new proofs of your friendship. As I left the Lord High Treasurer, I went to wait upon the King of England, to prevent his going, and to hinder the Lord High Treasurer from explaining to him, what I had told him, in a way which might have more irritated him than my own explanations. I reminded that Prince of all the marks of friendship he received at your Majesty's hands at all times, and of the promptness with which your Majesty let him know the sincerity of your intentions to support him at the moment he came to the crown. I gave him to understand that nothing could lessen your Majesty's sentiments towards him, but a change of conduct on his side, which I thought would never happen; that therefore he could expect a firm and sincere friendship from your Majesty, of which he would receive strong and effectual proofs whenever suitable opportunities for giving them should offer; that your Majesty thought the affairs of his finances in so good a condition, that you did not suppose that he at present stood in need of fresh aids, and that what he had received from Parliament enabled him to sustain greater expenses than those he was obliged to incur.

The King of England appeared to me pretty much embarrassed, and at first imagined your Majesty was discontented with his conduct, and would, as it were, renounce his friendship. I told him that I did not know any thing which had any relation to what he supposed; that it was simply true, that I had no order to continue the payments beyond the ancient subsidy; that your Majesty had, however, ordered me to assure him, that the funds your Majesty had sent hither, were preserved to succour him on an

urgent occasion, and that if he undertook to establish the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and met therein with any difficulties which he could not surmount without your Majesty's aid, you would employ the whole fund that is here to succour and help him; that thereby he could see your Majesty's intentions and the sincerity of your conduct. What I said, in some measure, removed the fears of that Prince, who at first was, I believe, very much agitated.

He answered me upon what I had just told him, that I was acquainted with his secret intentions concerning the establishment of the Catholic religion; that it was only with your Majesty's assistance he hoped to bring it about, that I saw he had just given employments in his troops to Catholics as well as Protestants; that this equality incensed many persons, but that he had not suffered so important an opportunity to slip away without taking advantage of it; that he would do the same with respect to feasible things, and that I more clearly perceived his intention about those matters than his own ministers, as he often without any reserve opened his mind to me thereupon. He added that I was a witness of his attachment to your Majesty's person, and of his sincere desire never to separate from your interests; that he had placed more reliance upon your Majesty's assistance and friendship, than upon any other thing in the world; and that he did not believe your Majesty would in the present juncture suspend subsidies which he wanted more than he ever should in his life.

I answered to this, that your Majesty had not altered your sentiments and only considered that he was not in want of the same supplies, as he had been enabled by Parliament to do without them. I contented myself with hav-

ing entered upon the matter and mixed therewith the affair of religion, in which the Lord High Treasurer is not much concerned, what credit soever he may have in other matters. I informed my Lord Sunderland of what was on the carpet, that he might be prepared, when the King his master should speak to him. He told me, " the King your mas-
" ter may have designs, which I do not penetrate; but this is
" an unlucky accident, which I hope will be remedied by
" showing that it is a mistake, arising from not having
" been thoroughly informed of what is taking place in this
" country, otherwise *you would furnish those with arms* who
" want to break the union of the two Kings. If in France
" they do not care for it, I have nothing to say: but if they
" make any account of us I know well that you may be as-
" sured of the King of England forever; and that it is only
" with the assistance and friendship of the King your mas-
" ter that his designs and intentions can succeed."

I explained to my Lord Sunderland what I had told the Lord High Treasurer and his Britannic Majesty about the good condition of the finances and the little want which they are in here of foreign assistance. He replied to me " you see in what expenses we engage, and what we shall " want to sustain them; you know how expensive troops " are which must be kept and what a civil war in the inte-
" rior is which we cannot hope to see so soon at an end;
" but for the present it is not in our power to do with-
" out the King your master's assistance, and I do not
" think that he can spend money in a way more useful to
" him."

I had a second conference with the King of England in his closet where we were long alone. He appeared to me persuaded that the refusal to continue the supplies ori-

ginates from your Majesty's believing that he can do without foreign assistance. He descended hereupon into the particulars of his affairs, and told me that I know in what disorder the late King his brother had left his magazines and vessels; that the augmented duties which had been granted to him could hardly suffice to put an indifferent fleet again in a condition to hold the sea; that the latter supply granted by Parliament would be consumed beforehand for the support of the troops which hereafter he could not do without, as he knew how little reliance was to be placed on the militia; that the expenses of Government were such (besides that the civil war may be protracted) that in his whole life he should never lack assistance more than at present; that I knew him well enough to be convinced that he would be very glad to be attached and united to your Majesty without seeking a supply of money; and that he would be delighted if he could merit new marks of your friendship; but that in the present juncture your Majesty's supplies were essential to him, and that he did not believe your Majesty intended to reserve for other times the supply which you destined for him, as it is not likely that there could occur another conjuncture, in which he could more want it; that I was acquainted with his secret designs and could warrant that all his aim was to establish the Catholic religion; that he would not lose any opportunity to do it; that he had armed the Catholics in Ireland; that my Lord Dumbarton had commanded his army in Scotland; that the Duke of Gordon had been put at the head of the militia; that now he entrusted the war-offices as much as he could to the Catholics in England; that it was, in some manner, pulling off the mask; but he had not been willing to suffer the opportunity of doing so

to slip away, as he thought it decisive. That he knew how many people were incensed at it, but that he would pursue his course, and that nothing should put him out of his way provided your Majesty would be pleased to assist him in so grand, so glorious a design; that already Hamilton's regiment of dragoons was entirely composed of Catholics, that he had given free-companies of horse to Bernard, Howard, and to many other distinguished Catholics; that by degrees he approaches his design, and that what he does now necessarily implies the free exercise of the Catholic religion, which will be established before an act of Parliament authorizes it; that I knew England well enough to be convinced that *the possibility of getting places and employments will make more Catholics than the permission to say Mass publicly;* that however he hoped your Majesty would not forsake him when he has a foe in the heart of his kingdom who disputes the crown with him, and is secretly countenanced by a great number of persons who are rather for upholding the pretensions of a Protestant bastard than the right of their lawful King, because he is a Catholic.

I had also two conferences with the Lord High Treasurer and my Lord Sunderland separately. The Lord High Treasurer repeated to me what he had before told me, and gave me to understand that he knew well that the King his master would be very glad to have no occasion for a supply of money, that at another time he would not have replied to what I had said; and would have thought of giving and receiving reciprocal marks of friendship from your Majesty, but that it should not be concealed from me that the King his master wanted the present assistance of your Majesty, and that he would not be under that obliga-

tion to your Majesty, if he did not intend to preserve a gratefulness for it, proportionable to the service; that the happiness and safety of the King his master's reign depended upon the friendship of your Majesty; that he would carefully preserve it, and that I must be sure that with respect to him (who was speaking to me) he thought nothing so important to the King his master as the preserving your Majesty's friendship, and that nothing could hurt him so much as his being deprived of it.

I gave thereto no other but a general answer, saying that your Majesty had given proofs enough of your desire to see the affairs of the King of England in an advantageous and secure condition.

My Lord Sunderland entered with me upon a very extensive discussion, and appeared to me thoroughly informed of what took place between the King of England and me concerning the Catholic religion. That minister said, "I "dont know whether things are viewed in France as they "are here, but I deem it impossible for those who see them "near at hand, not to perceive that the King my master "has no greater desire than to establish the Catholic reli- "gion; nay, that according to common sense and sound "reason, he can have no other design, that without this he "will never be safe, and must always be exposed to the "indiscreet zeal of those who will incense the people against "Catholicism, as long as it shall not be better established. "Another point is unquestionable; that plan can only suc- "ceed by a concert and closer connexion with the King "your master; it is a project that can suit him only; and "succeed by him alone. All the other powers will openly "oppose, or thwart it underhand. It is well known that it "does not suit the Prince of Orange, but he will not be

" able to prevent it, if France acts as is necessary, that is, " sustains the King of England's friendship and supports " his project. I clearly perceive the apprehension many " people harbour of a connexion with France, and the en- " deavours that are made to weaken it; but no one will " have power to effect it, if it is not wished for in France. " Hereupon you must give a plain explanation, that you " show the King your master intends candidly to aid the King " of England in establishing the Catholic religion here, up- " on a firm basis."

He added thereto, that he had had a long conversation with the King of England, and left him persuaded that the refusal to continue the payments was not founded upon any change of your Majesty towards him, but upon a supposition that he is in a condition in which he does not want your assistance; that however it was possible to rectify this incident if it was not wished that the King of England should believe that after having assisted him when he did not much need it, your Majesty forsakes him in the most important juncture of his life; that, perhaps your Majesty paid attention to the report which has been circulated of a re-union between the King of England and the Prince of Orange, that at the bottom there was nothing more absurd; that one was in possession of a crown which the other waited for with impatience, that the difference of their religion and sentiments upon every thing does not promise that they will candidly re-unite, that both are obliged to dissemble, and to observe decorum; but that their designs and projects are of too opposite a nature to be reconciled; that he who spoke to me, clearly saw all this, and that if any one would take the trouble to examine it well, he would, through all that is taking place, perceive a ground

of jealousy and discontent between the King of England and the Prince of Orange which nothing can remove; that his Britannic Majesty would never permit him to come hither, and that the Prince of Orange was always desirous to come hither and to show himself to the English.

I told my Lord Sunderland, that many things furnished ground for judging that the King of England had much relaxed towards the Prince of Orange, and that that produced a very pernicious effect every where, because the Prince of Orange always acted with the same animosity against the interests of France, that I sufficiently comprehended it not to be his Britannic Majesty's interest to push the Prince of Orange so far as to induce him to support the rebels, but too great a forbearance would enable him to be more dangerous and hurtful to his concerns; that for myself I did not suffer myself to be deluded by the artifices of the Prince of Orange's partizans, and was very much persuaded that the King of England knew his interests too well to separate them from your Majesty's concerns, or to form connexions hostile to you; and that on my side I should do what I could fully to explain the truth to your Majesty.

Last evening I had another conversation with the King of England. He pressed me to give your Majesty an account of all he had told me, and appeared to me to expect that your Majesty would give me orders different from those I have, and not refuse him a present supply, at a time when he wants it so much. He told me that if your Majesty had any thing to desire of him, he would meet any thing your Majesty may please to suggest; but that nothing could more sensibly touch him, than to see that while your Majesty confided in him, you could believe that he

would receive your supplies and assistance, if he was not determined inviolably to remain attached to your interests; that he had been brought up in France, and eaten your Majesty's bread; that in his heart he was a Frenchman, that he thought of nothing but of deserving your Majesty's esteem, and that you would never repent to have assisted him and to have secured the crown upon his head.

I told him I would give your Majesty as exact an account of every thing as possible; that I was thoroughly acquainted with his intentions, and that your Majesty's chief motive was the establishment of the Catholic religion, that in giving your Majesty a full knowledge thereof, I had no doubt you would enter upon the measures he could hope for.

The King of England told me, he had spoken hereupon more clearly to my Lord Sunderland, than to the other Ministers; that I might talk with him about it. He finished by saying, "I entreat the King your master to con-"fide in me, and not to believe that I have any other aim "besides what I told you; which I can only attain by his "succour and assistance."

This, Sire, is what occurred with the King of England and his Ministers, whereupon your majesty will please to give me your instructions; if they are such as they are expected here, and I can continue the payments of the subsidy, it will depend upon your Majesty to form stronger ties, and to lay the foundation of a closer connexion, that may last a long while, and in which your Majesty may find your advantages, as you may find it proper. But I think that, pending the negotiation, it would be necessary to continue some payments, unless your Majesty should resolve to furnish the whole fund which is here, which would overjoy the King of England, both on account of the present advantage

he would derive therefrom, and the pledge he would think it would afford of your Majesty's friendship. I have no doubt but in this case he would take all the determinations which might be most advantageous to the Catholic religion, and execute them: but besides that he would enter into all the engagements, as far as I may judge thereof, which your Majesty might desire, in relation to foreign affairs. From all that I have been told, I am satisfied that it would be very perilous for the King of England to be on bad terms with your Majesty. It would be much more so than is imagined; and the party opposed to royalty in England, is so numerous, and the seeds of division in their minds are so strong, that were it not for your Majesty's friendship, it would be very difficult for the King of England to enjoy a peaceable and happy reign. I think I saw in every thing that prince told me, a very sincere desire to be closely united to your Majesty. If he had a design to separate from you, he would not so earnestly urge a present supply, and would content himself with remaining in a state of reserve with your Majesty, without wishing for so close a league. I also think I perceive that he has formed a design to establish the Catholic religion, which will only be interrupted or delayed when he shall be unable to overcome the obstacles which it will present. But he will be daily at work to bring it about; and he perceives well enough that your Majesty alone can assist him therein.

Parliament have shown a great aversion to consent to every thing that would have made a precedent in favour of the Catholics. Their first impulse was to pursue them and to execute the laws against them. They gave this up, but against their sentiments, and by a bold stroke of power which cannot always succeed. The bill for the restoration

of My Lord Stafford remained in the House of Commons, without being acted upon, because in the preamble there were some words inserted that seemed to favour the Catholic religion; which alone frustrated the act of Lord Stafford's re-establishment, upon which all had otherwise agreed with respect to the main point. In the last bill which the House of Commons brought in for the preservation of the King's person, it was expressly stated that the ministers should be permitted to preach, and others to speak against Popery. The Queen has shown a great deal of animosity and resentment thereat, and the King of England had rather that act should not pass, though it included many other things very advantageous to his government. It was just this point, as far as I may judge thereof, which caused the separation of Parliament.

I make these remarks that your Majesty may observe that the King of England was neither in a condition, nor had he it in his power to establish the free exercise of the Catholic religion. He could not have attempted it without exposing himself not only to a refusal, but to something worse, that is, it might have prevented Parliament from granting him the supplies of money. Meanwhile the King of England does, I think, every thing in his power, in behalf of the Catholics, as he bestows upon them the principal military offices, and confers the subaltern employments on all others indiscriminately. It is difficult to describe how much fault was found here with my Lord Dumbarton's having been made general of all the troops in Scotland, and Mr. Talbot's having received the direction over all those in Ireland. It is perceived that insensibly the Catholics will be armed; it is a very different situation from that oppression which they were under; and produ-

ces among the zealous Protestants great mortification. They perceive that the King of England will do the remainder when he shall have it in his power. The levy of the troops which will soon be completed, evinces that the King of England wants to be in a condition to make himself obeyed, and not to be restrained by the laws which are adverse to what he intends to establish. All these views do not agree with connexions opposed to your Majesty's concerns.

I know well what they say in foreign countries, and that the report there is very general, that the King of England and Prince of Orange are secretly reconciled. I apply myself as much as I am bound, to penetrate what is going on in this respect. But I have discovered nothing that goes further than what the King of England is obliged to do in order not openly to force the Prince of Orange to side with his enemies, which would not be prudent in him to provoke at the present conjuncture. It was a matter of course to withdraw from Holland the troops, composed of subjects of his Britannic Majesty, in order to obtain prompt assistance.

M. Avaux sent me word, by his last letter, that he had been informed that Skelton has asked Mr. Fuches for troops of the Elector of Brandenburg. I investigated this report, which has no foundation at all. It is, no doubt, an artifice of the Prince of Orange, to make the Elector of Brandenburg believe that he had induced the King of England to have recourse to him.

Nor do I think there is any more foundation for what is pretended to have been said at the Hague, about the King of England's dissatisfaction with France, and which is to break forth in due time. Should that be the case, it would

not be confided to a clerk of my Lord Middleton's. There is not a shadow of truth in it; and at the time when it was said, the King of England did not know that the payments would be stopped and was fully satisfied with your Majesty.

Nor is it more likely that Bentem is so bold as to speak to the King of England upon the Catholic religion. Your Majesty may judge whether that Prince will suffer himself to be staggered upon this matter, and whether any one will be bold enough to propose to him to change his religion without incurring his utmost displeasure. The ground for Bentem's mission was, in all likelihood, to obtain permission for the Prince of Orange to come hither; the king of England told me he had refused and would always refuse it. Your Majesty can obtain a sure knowledge of what is taking place every where; my views are confined to what is going on here. But it seems that most part of the things that are circulated in Holland are false, and that they argue there upon foundations entirely destitute of truth.

To confine myself to the fact which is in question now, I shall keep myself ready to execute the orders your Majesty may please to give me. It is sufficient for me to have explained to your Majesty, matters as they appear to me to be in this country. I must now give your Majesty an exact account, as far as I shall be able to do, of the situation of the Duke of Monmouth's business. It is not precisely known how many troops he has got; they say at London 20,000 men: I think he may have about 8 or 10,000; 6,000 of which are tolerably well armed; the remainder are not sufficiently armed for a battle. It is unquestionable that till now his forces were continually augmented;

and it seems they have not acted against him with the promptitude and vigour which were requisite to put an end to a business that may produce dangerous consequences, but the small number of troops of his Britannic Majesty was not sufficient to attack the Duke of Monmouth and check his first progress. It would have been necessary to strip London; which would have been very imprudent, for people's minds are in such a disposition, that the least incident might produce great disorders there. Above 200 suspicious persons were ordered to be arrested, among whom there are several rich merchants, and other wealthy and distinguished people. This causes a great alteration in the public mind, and a great interruption of commerce. The people secretly favour the Duke of Monmouth, and it would burst forth if an opportunity offered itself, which would permit them to declare themselves without great peril. The King of England knows these things well, and is firmly resolved not to leave London on any account.

A report has been in circulation within a few days, that my Lord Delamere had gone to Cheshire, (it is contiguous to Wales) and had begun to assemble troops there in behalf of the Duke of Monmouth. It was also said, upon my Lord Grey of Stamford's, no longer appearing, that he had gone to do the like in the North. I do not yet see any sure foundation for those reports; but it is certain that if there was any stirring in any part of England, the Duke of Monmouth's affair would become far more dangerous, because it would be necessary to divide the troops of the King of England; for there is no relying on the militia, who are rather disposed to favour the Duke of Monmouth than the party of the King. The news that was received yesterday imports that the Duke of Monmouth, after tak-

ing and plundering the town of Wells, went to Bridgewater which he affects to fortify; it is a port where they say he may subsist comfortably, having behind him a very abundant country and full of the factious: It is even said that he cannot be attacked in Bridgewater, but by dividing the troops and constructing bridges of communication over the river, which is very wide at that place. That it requires time and more regular troops than my Lord Feversham has under his command. The three Scotch regiments passed through London to go and join him. Mr. Lasnis will in a few days have a regiment of 600 horse ready to march. The three English regiments are in the river, and will likewise join the army. All these will make together 7000 men in twelve or fourteen days.

Till now my Lord Feversham was unable to undertake any thing rigorous against the Duke of Monmouth. The loss of the Royalists in the fight near Philip's-Norton, was greater than it was reported. About a hundred men were killed and wounded, in the quarter where the Duke of Grafton advanced. It is certain that the Duke of Monmouth subsists with facility, and that the people furnish him with provisions more willingly than the troops of his Britannic Majesty.

The Earl of Argyle has been executed at Edinburgh, and left an ample written confession, in which he discovers all those who supplied him with money, and countenanced his designs: this confession rescued him from the rack. The Chevalier Cochran and his son who were the chief accomplices of the Earl of Argyle, have been arrested in a house where they had taken refuge. There are still many people in London who do not believe that my Lord Argyle has been taken.

I am, with the profound respect I owe, &c.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, July 26th, 1685.

M. Barillon, I received your letters of the 16th and 19th of this month, and saw with great joy, by the latter, that the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth had the same end as the Earl of Argyles, as I foretold it to you in all the letters I wrote to you on this subject. You will express to the King of England the share I take in the satisfaction he feels to have entirely dispersed by his own forces all that could disturb his reign, and at the same time restored his revenues and authority to a more prosperous state than any of his predecessors could carry them. I also hope that there is nobody in his kingdom who will be bold enough to rise against him, and that he will enjoy as long as I wish it, the full repose he has acquired. Nay, I shall forthwith send Marshal Humières to reside near that Prince, to let him know more peculiarly what my sentiments are upon this event, and you may meanwhile speak to him about it conformable to what I write to you.

As all the remainder of your first letter contains nothing which does not tend to oblige me to furnish the King with supplies of money, I should hope that the good condition wherein his affairs now stand, it would be superfluous to let you know my sentiments hereupon. But as I see by your letter that you still insist on my leaving you a fund for the necessity which may unexpectedly befal the court where you reside, I cannot forbear telling you, that I was extremely surprised to see that after having instructed you by several dispatches of mine, you did not entirely undeceive the Ministers of the court where you reside, if any hope which they conceived with so little reason that, at a

time when the King their master enjoys a larger revenue than any of his predecessors, I should yet exhaust my treasure, and unnecessarily sacrifice the fund, of which I had only deprived myself, to give the said King more extraordinary proofs of my friendship, in case the bad situation of his affairs had obliged him to have recourse to it. They are, by the grace of God, now in that state which he could most wish, and therefore I cannot believe that henceforth the same solicitations will be renewed. But if, contrary to my opinion, similar requisitions should be made to you, you may plainly declare that I have spared nothing to give you the means of assisting the King of England, when I had ground for apprehending that the Catholic religion which he professes might afford the factious a pretext for exciting great disturbances in his kingdom and for preventing him from enjoying the revenues which ceased on the decease of the late King: but that after so much satisfaction as his Parliament gave him, the entire defeat of his enemies, or rather of his revolted subjects, and the restoration of his authority to such a high degree, I reasonably believed, that he could not want any assistance of mine, and that I could employ in other services which I have to support, the fund which I had designed for him, without his being less persuaded of the sincerity of my friendship; that if, nevertheless, against all appearances, and through some accident which I cannot foresee, he should happen to be in urgent want of my assistance, he ought not to doubt but he will always find me as much disposed as I have shown him that I have been, to give him effective proofs of the share I take in every thing that concerns him.

You must confine yourself to this expression, which ought to put a stop to demands of money that are so much

the less warrantable in the present juncture, as the court where you reside knows well that the agreement you made with the late King of England expired before his decease, and though I have sufficient reason for believing that, had he lived longer, he would have been contented with the subsidies I caused to be paid until the end of last year, without claiming any more, I have nevertheless not hesitated to direct you to pay 500,000 livres, which in the court where you reside are looked upon as a balance of subsidy, when I had reason to think that the King of England wanted them. In short, you must perceive that my intention is that you should not leave the court where you reside the least hope to draw from you the fund which is in your hands, and that on the contrary you ought forthwith to place it in the hands of the bankers, in order that it may be conveyed back into my kingdom, by every opportunity that may offer itself.

I hope the King will be sufficiently impressed with gratefulness to Divine Providence for the happy successes he has just experienced, by the re-establishment in his kingdom of the exercise of the true religion which we profess; and you ought likewise to aid these good dispositions with gentleness and skill on all occasions that may present themselves.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, August, 1685.

M. Barillon, I received your letters of the 23d and 26th July, which merely inform me of what occurred during the execution of the Duke of Monmouth, and as it cannot be doubted that this example will henceforth keep all the subjects of the King of Great Britain in obedience, and, should even the number of the disaffected not be diminished, that

none will be found daring enough to become their leader and to rise against the King's authority, it will be easy for the King of England, and as useful to the security of his reign as to the repose of his conscience, to restore the exercise of the Catholic religion, which will peculiarly engage all those who profess it in his kingdom, to serve him far more faithfully, and with far more submission, than any other of his subjects; whereas if he suffers so favourable a conjuncture as the present to escape, he will, perhaps, never find so favourable a disposition on all sides either to concur in his designs or to enable him to accomplish them. You ought, nevertheless, to content yourself with aiding the inclination he may have to it, without too much pressing, which might rather retard than advance that resolution.

Observe well, meanwhile, what measures he takes with the Prince of Orange, and if there is not any treaty for a new alliance negotiating between the King and the States' General of the United Provinces.

I also hear from several quarters, that the Spaniards rely much upon the inclination which that Prince shows to favour their interests, and you ought to pay a great deal of attention to the manner in which he treats the Spanish Ambassador; whether this latter has more frequent conversations either with the King or his Ministers, and whether there is any likelihood of renewing the treaty between Spain and England.

Endeavour likewise to obtain very exact information of the number of troops and ships that Prince means to keep, and of their destination. In short, you ought in this conjuncture, to redouble your attention on every matter that occurs in the country where you reside, and to give me by all your letters an exact account thereof.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, August 24th, 1685.

M. Barillon, your letters of the 13th and 16th of this month, inform me of the resolution the King of England has taken to renew with the States' General the treaties of alliance which they had with the late King his brother, and of all he told you upon this subject. I have been so much the more surprised at the conclusion of this business as it did not appear to me by any letter of yours, that you received any communication thereof; and I have reason not to look upon it as a mere formality as the ministers of the court where you reside endeavour to persuade you. I think on the contrary, that it lays the foundation of a league which may encourage those who cannot endure the repose that Europe now enjoys; that the States' General who intended to remain perfectly neutral, or rather the Prince of Orange and Pensionary Fagel, talk at present of renewing an alliance with the Emperor, with the Kings of Spain and Sweden; that the Elector of Brandenburg is on the point of concluding a treaty with them, and that the disposition which the King of England displays to renew the treaties entered into by the late King his brother, not only with the States' General but also with Spain, causes the Ministers of this Crown to believe that that Prince is already entirely for them. The reports which they spread thereof, are so much the more credited, as it is known that the late King of England had entered upon those engagements only pending the misunderstanding that subsisted between me and him; and that as soon as friendship had been restored by the verbal agreement which you entered upon by my orders, he presently showed that he no longer thought him-

self bound by those treaties, and that he was very far from wishing to renew them. Therefore I do not comprehend from what motive the King of England should be in such haste to involve himself in similar embarrassments, especially at a time when he sees that all my designs tend to preserve peace, and that it can only be disturbed by such overtures for a league, which cannot in any manner whatever suit his interests. You may even yet speak thereof in this sense, as there is less inconveniency in showing that I cannot be pleased with that resolution, than in confirming it by a kind of acquiescence on my side; and perhaps when the King of England perceives that thereby he gives me just ground for being discontented, he will either no longer be in a hurry to bring this treaty to a complete ratification, or he will trammel it with so many modifications and qualifications that, in fact, it will be impossible not to look upon it as a bare formality. But if he actually desires to preserve my friendship, he will enter upon no other engagement that may be either directly or indirectly contrary to it.

I am also told that the English Parliament have laid new and heavy duties upon foreign goods and commodities imported into that kingdom. You should not neglect to let me know as soon as possible, if those duties are general, or if they solely concern the goods and provisions which from my kingdom are carried to England, and to what they amount.

Continue to give me as exact information as you can of every thing that occurs in the place where you reside.

I am surprised that you do not mention in your letters the Earl of Sunderland, though there are several reports here of his removal to Ireland as a viceroy. Tell me what is the matter concerning him. Keep your remaining funds

in your hands, without remitting any portion thereof to the bankers until I give you new orders.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, August 30th, 1685.

M. Barillon, though your letters of the 20th and 23d, of this month do not yet explain to me the negotiation which is going on between the commissioners of the King of England and the Ambassadors of the States' General but as a preparatory disposition to renew the treaty, yet the last letters of M. Avaux of the 24th, assure me that those of the said Ambassadors which had just arrived from England at the Hague, import that they had just concluded the act of renewal of the said treaties; and the declaration which the Earl of Sunderland made to you, that they would be sure not to insert any thing in the treaty which might engage the King of England contrary to the obligations of the late King his brother with you, is of so much less moment as it is well known, that the deceased King had only contracted those obligations at a time when he was not on good terms with me, and that since our friendship was restored, he put only such constructions thereupon as I could desire. Whereas the King of England now reigning spontaneously renewing them, and at a time when nothing, compelled him to it, intends to execute them literally, and will afford means to the Prince of Orange to form thereby a league capable of disturbing the repose of Europe. However, it is no longer time to remonstrate upon this subject, and you ought only do it to prevent the renewal of a treaty with Spain or with any other Prince or State whatever.

Marshal Cregin is now near me, and whatever report may circulate at the Court where you reside about my de-

signs, you can assure the King of England that they only tend to strengthen that repose which the last treaties have restored all over Europe.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Chartres, September 4th, 1685.

However as by one passage of your letter you give me to understand that it will be in my power to renew with that Prince the same connexions I had with the late King his brother, and to render them still more firm and stable, I dispatch this courier to you, in order to give you an early warning that you ought to be sure not to engage in any negotiation on this subject; and that as I sufficiently gave you to understand by all my dispatches and now give you by this, that I have no other design than to maintain the peace which all Europe now enjoys; I have also ground for believing that in the prosperous condition wherein I have put all the concerns of my kingdom, not only the King of England, by the interest he likewise has in the preservation of public tranquillity, but also all the other Princes and states in Europe, will be glad that it is not distubed, and that nobody will be daring enough to renew, against my will, a war that would only turn to his damage. Therefore it is not necessary to form for this purpose new connexions with England, which are never concluded but at my expense, nay, by subsidies capable of seriously injuring the affairs of my kingdom; and as often as similar proposals shall be made to you, you ought only to answer that I am sufficiently persuaded of the friendship of the King of England, and that he has reason enough to rely securely upon mine, not to have ossasion for assurances us thereof by any treaty.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Chamford, September 16th, 1685.

M. Barillon, the account you give me by your letter of the 3d, of the conversation you had with the King of England concerning the treaty he renewed with the States General, does not oblige me to give you any other orders but those you received by my preceding dispatches; that is, not to show any more dissatisfaction at what has occurred, but as skilfully as you can, to profit by the embarrassment under which they have placed you by their having concluded that business with too much precipitation, in order to prevent them from forming any other treaties with Spain, or with any other power.

I am glad to hear that the King of England has discovered the new conspiracy which was forming against him, and it seems to me that it should serve to give him to understand, that new and similar ones might be formed if the apprehension of his connexions with me did not restrain those who without that consideration, would be much more daring to undertake them.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

Windsor, September 10th, 1685.

The King of England read to me from the original, the deposition of Mr. Mathieu equerry to the Duke of Monmouth. It states that he heard from the Duke of Monmouth, that Baron Freize had spoken to him at the Hague on the part of the French Protestants, and communicated to him their project, which was to take up arms in the beginning of this summer, and to revolt in several parts of France, that they offered to receive the Duke of Mon-

mouth at their head; that this design was communicated to the Elector of Brandenburg, the Princess of the house of Brunswick, and the Prince of Orange, who all approved it; that this Baron of Freize had made several journeys into France to concert with the Protestants in the several provinces. This is all that the declaration contains, without specifying any particulars with respect to places and persons with whom this Baron of Freize treated. He is a German and was formerly at the court of Saxony, which he left in consequence of a quarrel with the favourite of the Elector of Saxony.

I besought the King of England to tell me whether he did not know any thing farther upon this matter; his answer was, that he only knew what was stated in the declaration, and would conceal nothing from me, upon such an important matter, if he had the least knowledge of it; that I might assure your Majesty that nothing was dearer to him than your interests and he should lose no opportunity to give you marks of his friendship. I entreated him to press once more the other confidants of the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Argyle, to discover something more particular than what was imparted to me. His Britannic Majesty promised to do so.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Chambord, September, 20th, 1685.

M. Barrillon, I received your letters of the 6th and 10th of this month, which shew me that the court where you reside, has not hitherto shown any disposition to conclude a treaty with the Elector of Brandenburg, nor to renew the Spanish one.

You ought to keep all things in this situation, and persuade, as much as you can, the court where you reside to keep free from all sorts of engagements which would alter the good understanding that I desire to maintain with the King of England; but it is also requisite to avoid any proposals for a closer connexion with me, which would be so much the more useless, as the desire I have to maintain the peace, perfectly agrees with the King's sentiments; it is very likely that, our interests and intentions being so consentaneous, nothing will be capable of altering this good union, and that of itself it will be better kept up than by all the treaties that could be concluded.

The King of England is right when he says that it is neither mine nor his interest, that the commerce of the Indies should be disturbed, nor will that happen with my consent, as long as the Spaniards do not attempt to introduce new arrangements in opposition to what the treaties of peace and truce import.

What you write to me about the deposition of a certain Mathieu is too general and vague to discover by this means who might be the chief and the accomplices of the commotions which were contemplated to be excited in my kingdom, under a pretence of the would-be reformed religion.

I am glad to hear that the King of England daily extinguishes the remains of the rebellion, and I hope neither my Lord Macclesfield, nor any other will be bold enough to undertake any thing against his authority.

I receive at this very moment a letter of the 4th which informs me that you had already conducted yourself before hand according to the orders I gave you by my dispatch of the 4th, and that you remained still more reserved

upon the overtures that might be made to you about new connexions.

I have nothing to tell you upon the choice the King of England has made, of Mr. Trumbal, to supply the place of Mr. Preston; but it appears to me that the capacity of an English civilian is not the most suitable to keep up the good understanding between me and the King of England, and that it often only serves to create difficulties where there ought to be none.

As to the request which is made to you by the King of England, for the reimbursement of some rents upon the Guild-Hall, in which he is concerned, I shall cause Mr. Courtin to lay before me the requisite information about this business, and shall then let you know my determination.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

Windsor, September 17th, 1685.

The Prince of Mourbach is here from the Elector of Cologne; he told me he was ordered to conduct himself in every thing as I should tell him. He gave me an account of a conversation he had with the Count of Toun, in which that Minister explained himself upon the favourable dispositions which he thinks the King of England entertains toward the house of Austria; and that there was ground for hoping that all would re-unite to prevent the immense greatness of France from farther augmenting; that the King of England knew well how necessary it was to establish a firm and lasting peace, and more equitable than the truce in which France gave the law, and found every kind of facility to maintain herself in her usurpations. The Count of Toun appeared to be full of hopes for the time to come; inadvertently however, he said that the King of England had

some days ago expressed himself with warmth upon the continuation of the truce ; by saying that if the Spaniards were imprudent enough to break the truce and commence war, he would declare against them and openly join France. The Count of Toun seemed to be offended by that declaration of the King of England, which shows little disposition on his side to accede to the projects of the house of Austria.

I give your Majesty an account of these particulars because they may serve to show you that the hopes these Austrian Ministers flatter themselves with, are not quite so well-grounded as they want to have it believed.

The Dutch Ambassadors speak of returning home immediately after the ratifications which are expected from Holland shall have been exchanged.

Mr. Skilton wrote that M. Fuches had besought him to write to the King his master to persuade him to agree to the treaty he made with the states. It does not appear that there is any disposition here to do it.

The King of England often holds conversations quite aloud, which shew how much he thinks the Calvinists Princes to be opposed to his interests, and in general hostile to all royalty, and principally to a royalty in England. These conversations held publicly much displease the Dutch Ambassadors, who know well that it is concerning the Dutch people his Britannic Majesty means to speak.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Fontainebleau, October 28th, 1685.

I hope that the session of Parliament which is to be convened on the 19th of November, will not be less advantageous to the King of England than the preceding, and

there is ground for believing that if he was not well persuaded hereof, he would be sure not so often to assemble a body of men who share with him the sovereign authority. I shall not have any other order to give you on this subject, but to observe exactly what will occur there, and to give me an account thereof.

——— TO M. BARILLON.

Fontainebleau, November 1st, 1685.

I showed the King, sir, the letter which you took the trouble to write to me, by which you tell me that since the decease of the late King, you paid to the King now reigning, the sum of 800,000 livres, and that there remains in your hands only the sum of 480,000 livres, of which you ought to retain on one side 200,000 livres, and 62,000 livres on the other; but as his Majesty believes that the power he gave you by his dispatches, was always confined to the sole payment of the subsidies which you had verbally promised in his name to the late King, and of which at his decease, only 470,000 livres were due, he commanded me to signify, that if in all his dispatches, there was any which permitted you to advance these 330,000 livres besides, and as among all those I have here, I find none of that description, I entreat you, sir, to inform me more particularly hereupon; nay, to send me the abstract of his Majesty's dispatch which gives you this power.

I am, sir, &c.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, October 29th, 1685.

He (the King of England) led me yesterday morning into his closet, and told me that he had several things to

tell me to be made known to your Majesty; as he would not that any thing of importance and consequence which he knew should not be communicated to you; that the first was the resolution he had taken not to suffer any longer my Lord Halifax to remain in the ministry, and that he would take from him his place of President of the Council; that I knew that from the time of the late King his brother, he had entertained a bad opinion of his sentiments and conduct, and had not thought him sufficiently attached to royalty; that since his accession to the crown, he had attempted to inspire him with better sentiments, and to oblige him to hold forth maxims conformable to those which the minister of a King, nay, every good subject ought to have; that he had seen that the radical disposition of my Lord Halifax could not be changed, and that therefore his resolution was taken no longer to employ him; that they had intended to dissuade him from adopting such a daring measure before Parliament met; that he was told he ought to employ my Lord Halifax in that assembly the more easily to obtain those things he desired; but that it was for this very reason he would turn him out of his council; that his example would spoil many persons, and strengthen the party of those disposed to resist him; that he knew the inconveniences of a divided council, and of suffering his ministers to harbour sentiments opposed to his own; that the late King his brother suffered much thereby; and that he would pursue a different conduct. He added, that his design was to have the test and habeas corpus acts repealed by Parliament; one of which was the destruction of the Catholic religion, and the other of royal authority; that he hoped to bring it about; that my Lord Halifax would not have been courageous and

firm enough to support the good party, and that he would cause less evil having no longer any share in public affairs and being disgraced.

His Britannic Majesty spoke to me farther of another resolution which is to appear before Parliament meet, it is to send an extraordinary Ambassador to Rome, deeming that, being a Catholic, his dignity requires he should do what Kings use to do with respect to the Holy See.

I thanked the King of England for all he had done me the honour to communicate to me; I told him, I would render an account thereof to your Majesty, and was bold enough to warrant him beforehand that your Majesty would entirely approve of his resolutions, and feel great joy to see him in a condition to undertake measures so important for the advantage of the Catholic religion, and the strengthening of his authority. His Britannic Majesty told me laughing, "I do not think the King your master will be "sorry that I remove my Lord Halifax from my councils. "I know well, at least, that the Ministers of the confede- "rates will be mortified by it, and that they had a great "opinion of his credit."

I replied hereto, that in the time of the late King his brother, I had acted with his consent in promoting the removal of my Lord Halifax from the Ministry; but that I had not believed that he possessed the least credit since his death; I agreed however that his removal from a concern in public affairs would produce a good effect in England and in foreign countries, to remove the opinion which the Ministers of the House of Austria endeavour to establish there, that a good understanding and friendship are very much diminished between your Majesty and him; that I even knew that the Dutch Ambassadors two days

ago had departed, well persuaded that my Lord Halifax was one of the most influential Ministers, and on whose friendship the Prince of Orange could most rely. I said this to induce the King of England to speak of a business which concerns the Prince of Orange's household, and has not yet blazed out, but will soon become public. He did not speak to me thereof, and I did not deem it my duty to speak of it first to him.

The Prince of Orange has discovered that the Minister of the Princess of Orange, her nurse, and a chamber-maid whom she likes very much, had an intercourse with Skilton, and informed him of every the most secret matter that came to their knowledge. The Prince of Orange got a knowledge thereof by the means of a letter which passed through the hands of Dalonne, the Princess of Orange's secretary. This business gave the Prince of Orange so much spleen that he turned out of doors the Minister, nurse, and chamber-maid, and sent them back to the Hague: I do not even know whether they have not already departed for England. The King of England, on his side, appears to me much exasperated, and believes that the Prince of Orange clearly evinces his ill-will against him, being so much disturbed that his Minister knows what occurs in the household of his daughter and son-in-law.

I did not press the King of England to tell me the name of the Ambassador he sends to Rome, in order to leave him perfectly at his ease to explain himself with me in confidence, without making him believe that I want to know more than he wishes to tell me; but I have been informed from another quarter that it was the Earl of Castlemaine, husband of the Dutchess of Cleveland. I do not doubt but your Majesty will indulge the same reflection which I know

has been made here by those who heard of this choice. It seems on the first blush to be somewhat ridiculous to send a man so little known by himself, and so well known to my Lady Cleveland. The King of England did not stand upon that, and chose him because the Catholics place great confidence in him; because he made several journeys into Italy; because he thinks him to be a very clever man and a very zealous Catholic, &c.

I am, &c.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

November 6th, 1685.

He (the King of England) is right in believing that my Lord Halifax, having no religion, cannot be a minister very faithful and much addicted to the maintenance of the King's authority.

The King cannot employ his cares and power in a way more useful to him than by causing Parliament to repeal what is called the test-act; which obliges his subjects to take oaths so horrible and contrary to what they owe to God, nay, to royalty. Nor is it, to support him, less important to free him from the embarrassment in which he is thrown by that second act which you call habeas corpus, and I shall always be overjoyed to hear that he has succeeded in those two projects.

I had already been told of the removal of the Princess of Orange's domestics, and I easily conceived that the King of England would not like it being alleged against them as a crime that they informed him by his minister of his daughter's health and other concerns.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, November 5th, 1685.

Many various reflections are indulged upon my Lord Halifax's disgrace. He declared to his friends that he would not engage to support the designs which his Britannic Majesty contemplates for the next session of Parliament, and that he had rather chosen to withdraw from court, than remain upon the condition of openly declaring for every thing that may be undertaken in behalf of the Catholics, and to augment the King's authority. Many people say the King of England had done better insensibly to engage my Lord Halifax to second his designs and employ him to manage in Parliament what he desires to obtain of them, than to disgrace him, only because he is not willing to enter upon measures opposed to the established laws, and to every thing that is deepest rooted in the hearts of Englishmen. But his Britannic Majesty argues quite differently, and thinks nothing would be more dangerous to the well-being of his concerns than the preserving of a minister whose sentiments and principles are opposed to his own; nay, that it is to the purpose that it should be known that the only means to be well at court and to preserve his good graces, is, implicitly to follow his will, and to have such an attachment to his interests as may not be liable to any misinterpretation nor reserve.

This incident is also looked upon with a good deal of attention by the foreign Ministers; those who are the best informed here, did not think that my Lord Halifax had a great credit; but most of them imagined his credit would increase in proportion as the King of England should adopt

measures opposed to those which the late King his Brother and he pursued till now.

My Lord Halifax took great care to flatter the hopes of those whom he knew to be desirous that his Britannic Majesty might closely unite with the Prince of Orange, and a little relax from too close an alliance with your Majesty. They meant to extend that hereafter to an entire separation of your and his concerns. This project was supported by my Lord Halifax, who was well aware that as long as your Majesty and the King his master should keep up a good understanding, he could not have any large share in his confidence, but if it happened to change, the other Ministers would lose something of their credit, while his must increase. The Ambassadors of Spain and Holland considered him as their chief counsel for some years, and contributed to strengthen the report spread in foreign countries that my Lord Halifax had a large share in the measures which were in agitation. The Count of Toun's secretary, who remained here in the capacity of secretary to the Emperor, could not forbear saying to several persons, that it was very strange that the King of England turned my Lord Halifax out of his council, after being under such great obligations to him, for having with so much force supported his party, or rather his right in Parliament when the exclusion bill was on the carpet.

This discourse was brought to the King's ears, who found fault with it. The truth is that my Lord Halifax, to gain the confidence of the late King of England, stoutly supported the succession against my Lord Shaftsbury, and was then at the head of those who in the Upper House opposed the bill of exclusion, directed against the Duke of York, and which had already passed the Lower House; but as

early as the day which followed that on which the exclusion-bill was rejected, my Lord Halifax proposed modifications against the Duke of York, more ruinous in their tendency to him than the exclusion. The principal was a perpetual banishment pending the life-time of the late King, and such great restrictions upon his authority, in case he should come to the crown, that those conditions were deemed more dangerous and less admissible than the exclusion. From that time, my Lord Halifax always openly declared against the Duke of York, and opposed every thing that was advantageous to him.

I have been assured that the Queen dowager will not retain my Lord Halifax in his office of Chancellor to her, and he himself does not think he can retain it; he is, however, on pretty good terms with her, and caused the office of Treasurer of her household to be bestowed on his cousin Mr. Thynne.

Now that the meeting of Parliament draws near, they begin to talk in London of those matters which are to be agitated in that assembly. It is difficult to judge yet what will be the issue thereof, for though the greatest number of the members seem to be well affected towards his Britannic Majesty, the test and habeas-corpus acts are considered by all Englishmen, as the ramparts of the Protestant religion, and the privileges of the nation. The King of England hopes he will succeed in having them repealed; otherwise it would be an imprudence to undertake it, and to be under the necessity of separating Parliament without having obtained from them what he deems requisite for the strengthening of his authority. The restoration of the Catholic Peers will be a consequence of the repeal of the test act, as also the confirmation of the officers in the army

and those in his household who are Catholics. All this is looked upon as very important, and almost all Englishmen see with great grief that the King's authority daily obtains more strength, and that it will be impossible to see the laws established against the Catholic religion executed, under the reign of a King who openly professes it.

The Bishop whom the Pope sent hither is arrived, he will not yet perform any public function. But his arrival is no secret. The King of England seems to be well pleased with him. All the secular ecclesiastics in England submitted to his direction. His title is *in partibus*.

My Lord Preston is appointed Chancellor to the Queen dowager, instead of my Lord Halifax. The office of Chamberlain, vacant by the decease of the Earl of Aylesbury, was bestowed on the Earl of Mulgrave; and the office of Lord of the Bed-Chamber, which was held by my Lord Mulgrave, was conferred on my Lord Bruce, who is now Earl of Aylesbury by the decease of his father.

Mr. Cornich has been executed; and a woman whose name was Gaunt, and who was sixty years old, has been burnt for having given shelter to some rebels in her house.

I send your Majesty the copy of the memoir which was handed to my Lord Sunderland by the Spanish Ambassador.

I am, &c.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

November 16th, 1685.

M. Barillon, your letter of the 5th of this month, informs me of the various reasonings which at the place where you reside are started upon my Lord Halifax's disgrace; but whatever effect it may produce, you easily perceive that it cannot but be advantageous to my concerns, that a minister

so much addicted to the Spanish interests and so hostile to the Catholic religion, is removed from the councils of the King of England; and I also hope this act of firmness will still augment the authority of the King, and even render Parliament more submissive to what he shall desire of them. I leave it with your prudence to inform him of my sentiments on this subject if you think it proper.

Whatever repugnancy the English may have to suffer any alteration to be made in the two points which they deem so essential to the preservation both of the Protestant religion and their rights and privileges, yet they are on the other hand of so great consequence to the success of the designs the King has formed, that he is perfectly right in using his whole authority to obtain them. It is also the much more likely that he will succeed in it, as the peaceable situation which at this moment all Europe is in, neither affords to the factious any prospect of resource nor requires the well affected to wish for a more favourable conjuncture.

The memoir which the Spanish Ambassador has handed to the Earl of Sunderland only concerns what is due to some private persons by the states of Hainault, and is incapable of producing new disturbances. But the continual contraventions which the Spaniards commit upon the treaty of truce, by taking the vessels of my subjects and declaring them good prizes, might draw upon them more grievous consequences if they do not as soon as possible give back what they have taken.

I receive at this very moment your letter of the 8th, with the memoir of the payments you have made since the decease of the late King of England; and after I shall have ordered is to be examined whether it agrees with the reckoning which you formerly sent of the payments made by your

orders until the decease of the late King of England, I shall let you know my sentiments upon that point.

I hear from all sides that the King of England shows a strong disposition to enter upon all sorts of engagements contrary to my interests. They confirm to me anew the intelligence I already gave you, that the Catholic King sends to his Ambassador in England the power to conclude a league with the Court where you reside, upon the assurances that Minister gave that in the present conjuncture he would meet with very great facilities to bring it about. You ought nevertheless to express to the King of England, that I am persuaded he will so far reject the propositions for a league which that Minister might make, that the Spanish court will soon be put out of conceit with the hope it has entertained, of a happy issue to that project.

By all you write to me it appears to me that the King of England has no reason to be satisfied with the Prince of Orange; and it is to be wished for the maintenance of peace and the well-being of our religion, that there may be between them no better understanding.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, November 12th, 1685.

The King of England told me that he was persuaded, and very glad of it [it is the question of the desire which Louis the XIV. expressed, and felt to strengthen the repose which Europe enjoyed then] that I saw how important it was to him that no rupture should take place between your Majesty and the King of Spain, and that I knew what advantages that would afford to those who intend to thwart his designs with respect to the Catholic religion.

Mr. Trumball has set off for France. The King of England told me, that he had given him precise instructions and orders to take all possible care for the continuance of a good understanding with your Majesty. I besought his Britannic Majesty he would particularly command him not to meddle with the affairs which concern those who profess the reformed religion. I have no doubt but this has been done, and as far as I may judge from what Mr. Trumball told me, he will behave himself in a manner with which your Majesty will have cause to be pleased.

All projects and plans are formed with respect to Parliament. It is certain that they will discuss very important matters. It is impossible to judge yet of the issue. The King of England hopes to carry most of the things he will ask for; and he seems determined upon not desisting from what he desires to obtain in behalf of the Catholics, and for strengthening his authority. Distrust is great in the party of the zealous Protestants. They know well that upon what occurs in this session, depends henceforth the safety of the Protestant religion. The Catholics do not quite agree together, the most dexterous and those who have the largest share in the King of England's confidence, know well, that this is the most favourable juncture that may be hoped for, and that if it be suffered to slip off, it may for a long while not be so favourable. The Jesuits are of this opinion, which, no doubt, is the most reasonable; but the wealthy and settled Catholics fear the time to come, and apprehend a turn which would undo them. Therefore they would admit all possible modifications, and content themselves with the slightest advantages which might be granted to them, such as the repeal of the penal laws, without being wedded to the repeal of the test act,

which makes the Catholics incapable of holding offices and employments.

This party is supported by all the persons who secretly favour the Prince of Orange, and their advice would prevail if the others took not all possible care to give the King of England to understand that if he does not take hold of the opportunity and establish now what he intends to do for the Catholics and himself, he will daily see new obstacles arise to his designs. The King of England's temper inclines him to pursue a firm and vigorous conduct. Those ministers of his who harbour the same sentiments, seem to augment their credit. The example of my Lord Halifax inspires those with fear who would pursue a moderate conduct and look only for modifications. All these things produce many cabals at Court and in Parliament. The King of England often speaks to me of what he intends to do, and appears to me resolved to make the best of the present conjuncture. He always tells me that the peace abroad is absolutely necessary for him, and charges me to represent this to your Majesty as a decisive point for the advantage of the Catholic religion. I keep myself within the bounds your Majesty prescribed to me, and without taking upon myself to inspire him with any thing too confidently, I strengthen the resolution he seems to be in, to profit by the occasion. I shall be assiduous to penetrate what occurs, and to give your Majesty as exact an account thereof as I can. For a long while there has been no session of Parliament more important. Nay, I foresee, that many points will be discussed which are not expected. I shall omit no pains to be well informed.

I am, &c.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, 19th November, 1685.

I am informed, however, by the last letters from Madrid, that what retards the Spanish council from giving satisfaction upon the just complaints of my subjects, is the hope which the Spanish Ministers indulge, soon to draw the King of England into the interests of the house of Austria, and to conclude with him a treaty of alliance. It is even added that they believe that Prince only delays entering upon it till he has obtained from his Parliament what he has resolved to ask of them in the next session. This ought to oblige you to renew your care and application to penetrate the real designs of the court where you reside, and to examine all the resolutions which shall be proposed, in case of a change, for the well-being of my service; for, as I shall always be glad to contribute to the happy issue of the King of England's designs as long as they shall only tend to the encrease of our religion, the security of the public repose and of his authority; I am also to tell you, for your particular instruction, that I shall not be sorry that he meets in his Parliament with obstacles to his projects, when I perceive that he intends to take measures with my foes, in order thereby to give them the boldness to disturb the peace which I restored by the last treaties. Therefore you ought carefully to observe what is the disposition of the minds of the principal members of Parliament, and which way those incline who will have most credit in this session; so that, without affording the King of England any pretence for going off from the sentiments of gratitude which he thinks he owes for the testimonies of friendship which I have given him before and

after his accession to the crown; you may, should he deviate therefrom, give a hint to those members of Parliament who are most attached to the preservation of their rights and privileges, that the connexions I have with the King their master, are not strong enough to affect them; that they may act with freedom and without apprehending my power. But as you easily perceive that it is extremely important for the prosperity of my service that your deportment should be so circumspect, so wise, so prudent, that it may not in the least expose you, you ought, above all, to apply yourself to sound the business before you attempt any thing which might hurt my interests. You ought even not to take any step in so nice and dangerous a negotiation, but after having informed me of what you may have discovered about the intentions of the court where you reside, and after I shall have given you fresh orders. It is to the purpose, meanwhile, that you will make use of all the opportunities which present themselves, dexterously to insinuate to the King of England the interest he has to employ his authority in the restoration of the Catholic religion, and no longer to suffer it to be exposed to all the penal laws which have been made against it in the preceding reigns.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, November 29th, 1685.

M. Barillon, I received your letter of the 19th of this month with the copy of the speech which the King of England addressed to his Parliament requiring them to supply him with the necessary funds for the payment of the troops which he means to obtain from them and to inform them

of his reasons for preserving the officers who faithfully served him in the last rebellion.

I hope he will not have much ado to obtain this supply from that assembly. They will rationally think they have gained an important point, if he does not undertake any thing in behalf of the Catholic religion, and leaves it in the deplorable condition in which it is placed at present, liable to the penal laws and to every thing which the rage and passions of its deadliest foes could attempt against it in a more favorable conjuncture for them. I am also well persuaded that that Prince is sufficiently aware of the interest he has to restore it, and that, moreover, he has all the zeal that can be desired, so that he will not fail to procure and promote its advantages; and as you well know my intentions about the conduct which you are to pursue pending the session of this Parliament, I have no doubt but you will adhere to them as exactly as you can, and inform me of every thing that shall occur in the deliberations of both houses, and of the measures the King of England will take to attain his ends.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

It is said my Lord Grey has deposed that several Lords were to join the Duke of Monmouth, among others my Lord Devonshire, he is the Duke of Ormond's son-in-law, and the wealthiest English Lord in lands and houses. Many people are concerned for him and interpose in his behalf; but he does not help himself as much as he should. This begins to produce the usual agitations in this country when Parliament are assembled.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, November 26th, 1685.

I received the day before yesterday your Majesty's dispatch of the 19th of Nov. by an express. Before I answer it, I think it my duty to give your Majesty an account of what occurred here since the last post. The deliberations of the House of Commons on the 22d of Nov. was warm and boisterous, yet the partisans of the Court carried a resolution to grant a supply of money. Those of the opposite party had been so cunning as to add to the proposition to grant money, that this supply should be for the maintenance of the army, which it was expected would cause the proposition to be rejected by a large majority of votes. But the Speaker and some others caused simply the question to be put to grant money, without specifying to what use. It passed by a few votes, but at the same time the house took the resolution to represent to his Britannic Majesty that the true force of the country lies in the militia; that all possible care should be taken and no means forgotten to render it useful; it was plainly declaring that the house do not mean that the army should be continued. Many members spoke with vehemence against the army and the Catholic officers, and maintained that the King's speech did not agree with what he had said in the preceding session, since in this he openly declared against the established laws on which the safety of the Protestant religion depends. Mr. Seymour spoke with much asperity; Mr. Clergis too; a certain Jennins, a creature of my Lord Danby, and a new member of the house, whose name is Tuesden, spoke likewise with great force and applause. All their speeches were wholly bent upon not suffering a standing army, and upon not per-

mitting that there should be any Catholic officers. One of the members said, he did not perceive that England made any considerable figure in the world as was mentioned in the King's speech. My Lord Preston replied to this, that he knew and was well informed that, last summer, your Majesty would have attacked Spain in some quarter, had not the King of England impeded you, and that your Majesty had merely been prevented from doing so, because you had thought that a rupture with Spain would induce England to side with your enemies. There were yet others who gave it to be understood that the King of England alone was capable of preventing the progress and encrease of that power which makes all the others tremble, and that the true interest of the English nation consists in enabling the King to oppose it, which cannot be done if he has not sufficient and well provided forces at his command. This sentiment war indirectly combated by some other members who maintained that the true interest of the English nation is to live in repose and tranquillity at home, with the safety of their laws and property as well as their conscience in the exercise of their religion; and that in such a case England will enjoy sufficient consideration abroad. This deliberation appeared so opposite to what his Britannic Majesty desired, that it is already said that Parliament will be prorogued or dissolved. Many cabals were formed the day before. The old members of Parliament who are not members of the present had given lessons to the new members.

The house met again on the 23d. The debate was still warmer; and the party opposed to the court carried by three votes the question that had been put whether they should deliberate on the supply of money, or consider of the

King's speech. The latter point was carried, because many members attached to, or dependant upon the court were absent, nay there were some of them who were for it, among others Mr. Fox, who is Commissioner for the payment of the troops; his father is an officer of the household, and had the office of Paymaster of the troops in which he grew rich. A Lieutenant of the Horse Guards whose name is Dagge, a man of quality voted also against the court. They spoke with still far more warmth against the army and Catholic officers than the day before, and the almost unanimous sentiment of the house seemed to be not to grant money for the subsistence of the army, and not to suffer that there should be any Catholic officers.

The house met again the day before yesterday 24th November, and deliberated upon the King's speech. It was expected that the heat and hastiness would yet be greater than on the preceding days, but the moderation was far greater than it had been expected. Merely one or two members repeated what had been said on the foregoing days; but the ground of the deliberation was very firm, and the house seemed absolutely determined on not permitting the King to exploy Catholic officers, since the laws are directly opposed thereto. Diverse expedients were proposed to reconcile this difficulty; that of allowing those who have got offices to retain them, and of inducing the King to promise that he would not appoint any others, was rejected by the house, and the conclusion was to present an address praying his Britannic Majesty to remove the suspicions and jealousy in which the nation was involved by the inexecution of the laws. The moderation which appeared in this latter deliberation is ascribed to the fear they were in, of giving an occasion for dissolving Parliament; others say,

that it is an advice of the old members of Parliament, who inspired the new members with firmness and perseverance with respect to the main question, by showing an outward moderation.

Yesterday was Sunday. They debate to-day on the supplies of money. The whole question amounts to this, whether the house of Commons will grant money without mixing therewith any condition, or whether they will content themselves with having shown how odious the subsistence of the army and the employment of the Catholics are to them, without insisting any more on a previous satisfaction. In the first case the King of England will have obtained the most essential points; for the general discontent will not prevent him from having troops on foot and money to pay them. The debates of to-day will decide how long the session of Parliament is to last; for the King of England seems determined on not yielding in any point, and his firmness astonishes those who thought that what occurred in the house of Commons would bring him to the resolution to admit some modifications and not to be absolutely bent on carrying in this session every thing he desires.

From all I have the honour to inform your Majesty of, you see that affairs in this country have undergone a great change within a few days; but they may receive some mitigations and alterations. I know that money is employed to inspire those who are most opposed to the Court with more moderate sentiments; but it is not an easy matter to restore perfect harmony, and to effect a cessation of suspicions on both sides.

The party opposed to the Court is that of the Prince of Orange, which many people secretly countenance; nay, the Court itself is divided. I shall explain this to your Majes-

ty as well as I can in the sequel of this letter. It appears to me, however, that to execute the orders imparted by your Majesty's last dispatch, I have nothing to do but to take all possible care to be well informed, and to give you an exact account of all occurrences.

I preserved some connexions with persons who had a great deal of credit in former Parliaments, and it would not be impossible to augment, if necessary, the divisions which seem to arise; it would not be useless for your Majesty's service to have always some persons depending on your Majesty; nay, occasionally, that might prove useful to the King of England and the well-being of religion. I see no urgency now: It seems that affairs take of themselves the road which may be the most advantageous for your Majesty. At least this is the light in which matters stand to-day. It is, however, difficult to foresee the revolutions and unexpected changes which occur in this country, and your Majesty sees well enough that affairs are begun and terminated before I have time to receive new orders.

I have been informed of the steps the Spanish Ambassador has taken since the beginning of the session of Parliament. It was also made known to me that a few days before, he had hard pressed the King of England to renew the treaty of 1680. His Britannic Majesty's answer was rather a delay than an absolute denial. The Ambassador showed that he was surprised at it, and the King of England clearly perceived by what Mr. Ronquille said, that he had given hopes at Madrid that the treaty could be renewed, I did not think, pending these last days past, I ought to speak to the King of England about this renewal of the Spanish treaty, as I knew that there was nothing to fear now, and deemed it to be more proper that he should speak

to me of it first, which I believe he will do as soon as he shall have a little less business.

The Spanish Ambassador founded great hopes on this session of Parliament. I have been apprized that his partizans hinted at an alliance with the States General and Sweden, or the Elector of Brandenburg, to hold the place of which the tripple league formerly held. Nay, I know that to those projects of alliances were to be joined offers of considerable sums to engage his Britannic Majesty to enter upon them. All this is overturned, or at least removed by all that occured until this day.

I had still another reason for not hastening to speak of the Spanish treaty to his Britannic Majesty, it is to avoid all propositions for a supply of money which might be made to me, which would the easier happen if I looked as if I apprehended the renewal of an alliance with Spain, and spoke to prevent it. It is not my business to present an opportunity for it. Nay, I shall be very cautious in what I am to say to the King of England if he dissolves Parliament, and every hope of reconciliation is destroyed, that your Majesty, may be at full liberty to prescribe to me what I shall say, and what conduct I shall have to pursue.

After having given your Majesty an account of Parliamentary matters, I think it my duty to inform you as well as I can of what concerns the interior of the court. Since my Lord Sunderland came again into business, he took a great deal of pains to convince me of his attachment to the interests of your Majesty, I shall only mention what occurred since the decease of the late King. But this minister clearly perceived that the Lord High Treasurer had a connexion with the Prince of Orange, founded upon un-

alterable interests, and that therefore his credit would insensibly diminish near the King of England, or that he would be constrained to act in opposition to his sentiments and maxims, which it is very difficult to do long. This has happened, and my Lord Sunderland is now so fully possessed of his master's confidence and has supported the projects which that Prince is wedded to so earnestly, that even to persons of the least penetration he appears to possess the principal place in the administration. The Catholics openly side with him; and are on the contrary very much discontented with my Lord Rochester, whom they believe to be very zealous for the Protestant religion, and opposed to every thing that might benefit the Catholic religion. This causes a great division at court; and though there have been explanations, and reconciliations, between the two Ministers, yet it is clearly perceptible that their conduct and interests are very opposite. Their friends form parties. The King of England sees all this, and knows what occurs. He employs the Lord High Treasurer in the direction of the finances; but he does not allow him the power to dispose of any considerable sum, and pretends himself to descend to particulars, which much lessens the authority and credit of my Lord Rochester. It is from my Lord Sunderland I received the intelligence of what occurred upon the renewal of the treaty with the Spanish Ambassador. He earnestly assured me that the King of England felt no desire at present to renew this treaty, and that I should be informed whenever he should perceive him in the least disposed thereto.

My Lord Sunderland has for a short time past entrusted to me very secret matters which concern him; he told me that the King of England positively promised to appoint

him President of the Council, after the session of Parliament. This dignity, joined to the function of Secretary of State, will yet much encrease the opinion of his credit. His Britannic Majesty has been determined to promise this office to him by a Jesuit, called Father Petre, who has a great share in his confidence. He is a man of condition and the late Lord Petre's brother; he strongly represented to the King how important it was to bestow credit and rewards upon a Minister who serves him more faithfully and courageously than the others. The Chancellor, who is strongly united with my Lord Sunderland, and pursues the same conduct, had pressed the King of England to confer upon him the office of President of the Council, when my Lord Halifax was dismissed, but he had not been able to bring it about, because his Britannic Majesty had declared to many persons that this office would be given to nobody.

My Lord Sunderland told me another circumstance of vast importance, and which, if it be true, and made known to the King of England, will much lessen Lord Rochester's credit, it is this, when Mr. Sidney went to Holland, Lord Rochester requested him to see him last, and only a moment before he embarked with Bentem; in this interview, Lord Rochester said to Mr. Sidney, that the advice he had to give to the Prince of Orange, was to come to England at any rate, nay, in spite of the King of England; that this was the sole and only means to put matters in the right way, which were brought to such a situation as it would be impossible to remedy hereafter. Mr. Sidney discharged his commission, and said that the Prince of Orange was moved, but was not bold enough to venture on a passage. He spoke of it to Bentem, to whom Mr.

Sidney had said nothing about it, and who was pretty much for the Prince of Orange's passing into England. I clearly perceive that the motive which induced my Lord Sunderland to tell me so important a thing, was to prevent me from placing any sort of confidence in Lord Rochester, and to induce me to look upon him as a man entirely opposed to the interests of your Majesty, and attached to those of the Prince of Orange. I can scarcely believe this to be a story; I know well that my Lord Sunderland can, through Mr. Sidney, keep up connexions with the Prince of Orange, which might blaze out in other times; but meanwhile he pursues a conduct entirely favourable to the Catholics, and which removes the King his master from any other attachment but to the interests of your Majesty. The orders your Majesty has given me for some time past, import that I shall carefully avoid entering upon any treaty that might engage you to furnish the King of England with supplies; however, your Majesty desires at the same time that this Prince should form no new connexions with the other powers in Europe, to which I have applied, and still apply myself as I am bound to do. My Lord Sunderland can aid a great deal herein; and has done so by giving me notice of what occurs; but his zeal and attachment to your Majesty's interests may grow cold; especially if his favour augments. I think it would be conducive to your Majesty's service to bring him completely over to your interests *by some gratuity which would entirely engage him.* I am persuaded that he will not shrink from receiving tokens of your Majesty's good will; he belives he has deserved them and shows that he will deserve them from this time forward. My Lord Sunderland's actual standing, and the likelihood that his credit will still encrease, make me think

that, if your Majesty deems it proper wholly to engage him, he ought not to be offered a slight gratuity, and it would be better not to give him any thing, than to offer him less than 6,000 pieces, and give him to understand at the same time, that this gratuity will be given every year. Your Majesty will always have it in your power to judge whether it shall be continued or not. I do not think any money can be better employed in this country than this, especially as your Majesty designs not to give any supplies to the King of England; and yet to prevent him from entering upon new connexions. I have long been hesitating to make this proposal to your Majesty; I am aware that I do not chuse exactly the best time to suggest this, since your Majesty seems to be inclined rather to manage the most influential members of Parliament; but I consider that, for the well being of your Majesty's service, I am obliged to propose what appears to me to be the most advantageous and solid; and it is possible that we shall not find the occasion so favourable if we suffer it to slip away. It is your Majesty's part to judge how much it concerns you that England should not become attached to hostile interests and adopt different measures. Your Majesty has well perceived that the refusal of supplies has produced the renewal of the treaty with the States General. Your Majesty can say, whether the renewal of this treaty has not been prejudicial to your interests, and what advantages the enemies of your greatness have derived from it, and among others, the Prince of Orange, who at least, has been induced to indulge great hopes for a future time. I shall be sure never to venture upon saying or doing any thing of my own suggestion, I shall merely keep myself in readiness, literally to execute the orders of your Majesty.

The house of Commons opened this morning with reading the address which is to be presented to his Britannic Majesty. I have been assured that it is conceived in terms extremely strong and determined against the Catholic officers. A resolution was then brought in to request the upper house to join in this address with the House of Commons. The proposition was rejected and the party of the court prevailed. They debated upon the supplies, and after a long contest it was agreed to grant 700,000 pounds sterling. The King of England looked for 1,400,000, but I think yet he will be pretty well satisfied provided the fund of that amount be well established and the Lower House do not insist upon the address they are to present as a previous condition. This point is yet uncertain. Patience is necessary to discover whether there will not occur some incident to defeat the resolution that has been passed. If the money matter can be entirely separated from the other points which are agitated, the King of *England will* find his account in it, and will be able to do without Parliament at least for some time. My Lord Sunderland has just told me that he does not believe that the King and Parliament can agree, because on each side they contend for entirely opposite things.

I am &c.

M. BARILLON TO THE KING.

London, November 30th, 1685.

Parliament have been prorogued this morning to the 20th of February. The King of England perceived well by what occurred yesterday in the house that the party of the factious encreased and was strengthened every day, and that there resulted many inconveniencies from suffer-

ing them to remain longer together. I am told their surprise was great, and that it was not expected that Parliament was to separate before the act for supplies had passed. The prorogation renders void whatever was proposed and begun without being terminated. The grant therefore of a subsidy completely falls to the ground as if it had not been mentioned. There is no likelihood that the prorogation of Parliament will produce any other effect than that of augmenting the discontent of those people who are already exasperated. This causes a great change in the affairs of England. I shall duly apply myself to give your Majesty an exact account thereof in order to receive your orders upon the conduct I should pursue.

I am &c.

THE KING TO M. BARILLON.

Versailles, December 6th, 1685.

M. Barillon, I have received these three days, both by the return of the courier I had dispatched to you, and by the post, five of your letters, of the 22d, 25th, 26th, 29th and 30th of November, with the remonstrances made by both Houses of Parliament to the King their master, that Prince's answers, and the journal of what occurred in the last sessions until the prorogation.

It is very likely that the mortification which the King has just offered that assembly, will render those who compose it more submissive to his will, and that at their return he will much easier obtain what the peevishness of some private persons alone could have rendered doubtful in this conjuncture. At any rate his firmness in supporting the Catholic officers, and not to suffer that the religion he professes, should be any longer subjected to the penal laws,

must necessarily produce happy effects for his reputation and the safety of his government.

I hope however he will not be in a hurry to renew an alliance with Spain, and that the little help he could derive from that crown will prevent him from taking any step which might be calculated to break off the connexions of friendship and good understanding which subsists between me and him. Since you deem that the minister of whom you write to me can much contribute to maintain it, I consent that you more closely engage him by a gratuity that may satisfy him and strongly attach him to my interests. To this effect I agree that you may carry it to 20, nay 25 thousand crowns, and I shall continue to order the same sum to be paid to him from year to year, as long as he shall contribute, in every matter which depends on him to the maintenance of a good understanding between me and the King his master, and to remove every engagement that might be contrary to my interests. I leave it with your prudence to make the first payments of this sum when you shall deem it necessary for the good of my service.

The explanation you give me of the employment of the money which passed through your hands, makes me believe that you have, in fact, paid only the sum of 100,000 livres beyond my orders, and as I am fully persuaded that you have merely done it because you deemed it necessary for the good of my service, there is no ground of discontent left to me about the matter.

II. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND AND THE BISHOP OF OXFORD, RESPECTING MR. LOCKE.

[In the hands of the late Anthony Collins, Esq.]

From Birch's Papers in the British Museum—Copies in Birch's hand-writing.

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Whitehall, November 6th, 1684.

My Lord,

The King being given to understand that one Mr. Locke, who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and has, upon several occasions, behaved himself very factiously and undutifully to the Government, is a student of Christ-church; his Majesty commands me to signify to your Lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student, and that in order thereunto, your Lordship would let me know the method of doing it.

I am, my Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

November 8th, 1684.

Right Hon.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, wherein you are pleased to enquire concerning Mr. Locke's being a student of this House, of which I have this account to render; that he being, as your Lordship is truly informed, a person who was much trusted by the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and who is suspected to be ill affected to the Government, I have for divers years had an eye upon him, but so close has his guard been on himself, that after

several strict enquiries, I may confidently affirm, there is not any one in the College, however familiar with him, who had heard him speak a word either against, or so much as concerning, the Government. And although very frequently, both in public and private, discourses have purposely been introduced, to the disparagement of his master, the Earl of Shaftesbury, his party, and designs, he could never be provoked to take any notice, or discover in word or look, the least concern; so that I believe there is not in the world such a master of taciturnity and passion. He has here a physician's place, which frees him from the exercises of the college, and the obligation which others have to residence in it, and he is now abroad upon want of health; but notwithstanding that, I have summoned him to return home, which is done with this prospect, that if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy, and if he does he will be answerable to your Lordship for what he shall be found to have done amiss; it being probable, that though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew himself to be suspected, he has laid himself more open in London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his Majesty, and his Government, were managed and pursued. If he does not return by the first day of January next, which is the time limitted to him, I shall be enabled of course to proceed against him to expulsion. But if this method seem not effectual, or speedy enough, and his Majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the Dean and Chapter, it shall accordingly be executed by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

J. OXON.

TO THE BISHOP OF OXON.

Whitehall, November 10th, 1684.

My Lord,

Having communicated your Lordship's of the 8th to his Majesty, he has thought fit to direct me to send you the enclosed, concerning his commands for the immediate expulsion of Mr. Locke.

SUNDERLAND.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, JOHN LORD BISHOP OF OXON, DEAN OF CHRIST-CHURCH, AND TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED, THE CHAPTER THERE.

Right Rev. Father in God, and trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the students of that our College, We have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his student's place; and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging, for which this shall be your warrant; and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 11th day of November, 1684.

By his Majesty's command,

SUNDERLAND.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

November 16th, 1684.

Right Hon.

I hold myself bound in duty to signify to your Lordship, that his Majesty's commands for the expulsion of Mr. Locke from this College, is fully executed.

 J. OXON,

TO THE BISHOP OF OXON.

My Lord,

I have your Lordships of the 16th and have acquainted his Majesty therewith, who is well satisfied with the College's ready obedience to his commands for the expulsion of Mr. Locke,

SUNDERLAND.

III. THE BILL FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE KING'S PERSON.

A Bill for the Preservation of the Person and Government of his Gracious Majestie King James the Second.

Whereas impudent, Scandalous, and seditious Speeches and Pamfletts have oft, (by sad Experience,) produced Insurrection and Rebellion within this Kingdom, and great contempt of the sacred Person of the King and the best of Governmts. both in Church and State, now establis't in this Realm; which audacious Mischief, seldom heard of in other Kingdoms, is now more frequently practised in this Kingdom than formerly. An horrid Effect whereof appeared very lately in the barbarous Assassination and hellish Plott, designed upon and against our late merciful and blessed Soveraine, King Charles the second, and his dearest brother and undoubted Successor, our most gracious Soveraigne, King James the second, (whom God long preserve); and whereas it is still plain, that the same or the like damnable plotts are yet designed and carrying on by the same means and by Persons of the same mallicious and irreconcileable Spirit against the happy Peace and Settlement of these three Kingdoms: we therefore, the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having duly consi-

dered the Premises; and remembring that in the thirteenth Year of the Queen Elizabeth, (of ever blessed Memory) a right good and proffitable Law was made for the preservation of her Majesty's person, and that in the thirteenth Year of the Reigne of King Charles the second, of happy and glorious Memory,) another right good and profitable Law was made for the Safety of his Majties. Person and Government, against treasonable and seditious Practices and Attempts, Doe most humbly beseech yor most excellent Majestie that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majestie, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall and Commons in this pesent Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that if any Person or Persons whatsoever, after the first day of July, in the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, during the naturall life of our most Gracious Sovraigne Lord the King (whom Almighty God preserve and bless with a long and prosperous reign,) shall within the Realm, or without, compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend Death, or Destruction, or any bodily Harme tending to the Death or Destruction, maim, or wounding Imprisonmente, or Restraint of the Person of the same our Soveraigne Lord the King, or to deprive or depose him from the Stile, Honour and Kingly Name of the Imperiall Crowne of this Realm, or of any other his Majties. Dominions or Countries, or to levy Warr against his Majestie within his Realme, or without: or move or stirr any Forreigner or Strangers with Force to invade this Realm, or any others his Majesties Dominions or Countries being under his Majesties Obeysance: And such Compassings, Imaginac'ons, Inventions, Devices, or Intentions, or any of them, shall express, utter or

declare, by any Printing, Writing, Preaching, or malicious and advised Speaking, being legally convicted thereof, upon the Oaths of two lawful and credible Witnesses, upon Tryal, or otherwise convicted or attainted by due Course of Law, then every such Person or Persons, so as aforesaid offending, shall be deemed, and declared, and adjudged to be a Traitor or Traytors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and also lose and forfeit as in Cases of High Treason.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Person or Persons at any Time, after the first Day of July aforesaid, shall by any Printing, Writing, Preaching, or other malicious or advised Speaking, declare or assert that James late Duke of Monmouth is the legitimate Sonn of our late Blessed Soveraigne King Charles the Second, or that the said James hath a Tytle or good Claime to the Imperial Crowne of this Realm, or of any other his Majties, Dominions and Countries; that then every such Person or Persons so offending, and upon the Oaths of two lawful and credible Witnesses, upon Tryal, or otherwise convicted or attainted by due course in Law; then every such Person or Persons shall be deemed declared and adjudged to be a Traytor or Traytors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and also lose or Forfeit as in Cases of High Treason.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Person or Persons at any time after the first Day of July, in the Yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, during his Majties. Life shall maliciously and advisedly, by Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other Speaking, express, publish, utter, or declare any Words, Sentences, or other Thing or Things, to incite or stir up the People to Hatred or Dislike of the Person

of his Majtie or the establish't Government, then every such Person and Persons being thereof legally convicted, shall be disabled to have or enjoy, and is hereby disabled and made incapable of having, holding, enjoying, or exercising any Place, Office, or Promotion, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, or any other Employment in Church and State, and shall likewise be liable to such further and other Punishments as by the Common Lawe and Statutes of this Realm may be inflicted in such cases.

Provided always, and be it declared, that the asserting and maintaining by any Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other Speaking, the Doctrine, Discipline, Divine Worship or Governmt. of the Church of England, as it is now by law established, against Popery, or any other different or dissenting Opinions, is not intended and shall not be interpreted or construed to be any offence wthin ye Words or Meaning of this Act.

Provided always, that no Person be prosecuted upon this act, for any of the Offences in this Act mentioned, unlesse the Information thereof be given upon Oath, before some Justice of the Peace, and taken in Writing within forty-eight Houres after the Words soe spoken, or the Fact discovered, and unless it be by Order of the King's Majestie, his Heirs or Successors, under his or their Sign Manual; or by Order of the Councell Table of his Majestie, his Heirs or Successors, directed unto the Attorney General for the time being, or some other of the Councell learned to his Majestie, his Heirs or Successors, for the Time being, nor shall any Person or Persons by vertue of this present Act, incurr any of the Penalties herein before menc'oned; unless He or They be prosecuted within six Months next after the Offence committed, and indicted thereupon within three

Months after such Prosecution, any thing herein conteyned to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that no Person or Persons shall be indicted, arraigned, or condemned, convicted or attainted for any of the Treasons or Offences aforesaid, unless the same Offender or Offenders be thereof accused by the Testimony and Deposition of two lawful and credible Witnesses, upon Oath, which Witnesses, at the Time of the said Offender or Offenders Arraignment, shall be brought in Person before him or them, Face to Face, and shall openly avow and maintain upon Oath what they have to say against him or them concerning the Treason or Offences conteyned in the said Indictment, unless the Party or Parties arraigned shall willingly without violence confess the same.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that this Act, or any thing therein conteyned, shall not extend to deprive either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of their Members, of their just ancient Freedom and Priviledge of debating any Matters or Business which shall be propounded or debated in either of the said Houses, or at any Conferrences or Committees of both, or either of the said Houses of Parliament, or touching the Repeal or Alterac'ion of any old, or preparing any new Laws, or the redressing of any public Grievance. But that the said Members of either of the said Houses and the Assistants of the House of Peers and every of them shall have the same Freedom of Speech, and all other Priviledges whatsoever, as they had before the making of this Act: any Thing in this Act to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and bee it further enacted, that if any Peer of this Realme, or Member of the House of Com-

mons shall move or propose in either House of Parliamt. the Disherision of the rightfull and true Heir of the Crown, or to alter or Change the Descent or Succession of the Crown in the right Line; such Offence shall be deemed and adjudged High Treason, and every Person being indicted and convicted of such Treason, shall be proceeded against, and shall suffer and forfeite, as in other Cases of High Treason menc'oned in this Act.

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted, that no Peer of this Realm shall be tried for any Offence against this Act but by his Peers: and if his Majestie shall grant his Pardon to any Peer of this Realm or Commoner convicted of any Offence against this Act after such Pardon granted, the Peer or Commoner so pardoned shall be restored to all intents and Purposes, as if he had never been convicted: any thing in this law to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding,

IV. ACCOUNT OF RUMBOLD, FROM LORD FOUNTAINHALL'S MS. MEMOIRS.

Colonel Richard Rumbold, another Englishman, was also taken at Lasmahago, by Hamilton of Raploch and his militia-men. He was flying into England, being conducted by one Turnbull, a man of Polwart, (for Polwart had secured himself by flight sooner than the rest had done.) He was bold, answerable to his name, and killed one, and wounded two, in the taking, and if one had not been some wiser than the rest, by causing shoot his horse under him, he might have escaped them all; however, he undervalued much our Scotch soldiers, as wanting both courage and skill. What had unfortunately engaged him in this enterprise, was, that he had been from his infancy bred up in

the republican and antimonarchic principles; and he owned he had been fighting against these idols of monarchy and prelacy, since he was nineteen years of age; (for he was now past sixty-three,) and was a lieutenant in Oliver Cromwell's army, and at Dundee, and sundry of the Scots battles; and by the discovery of the English fanatick plot in 1683, it was proved and deponed against him, that this Rumbold had undertaken to kill the late King in April, 1683, as he should return from Newmarket to London, at his own house, at the Rye in Hogsdown, in the county of Hertford, where he had married a maltster's relict, and so was designed the Malster; and intended to have a cart overturned in that narrow place, to facilitate their assassination. But God disappointed them, by sending the accidental fire at Newmarket, which forced the King to return a week sooner to London than he designed: see all this in the King's printed declaration. *But Rumbold absolutely denied any knowledge of that designed murder*: though on the breaking out of that plot he fled with others to Holland, and there made acquaintance with Argyle.

FOUNTAINHALL'S DECISIONS. VOL. 1, P. 365.

On the 28th (June, 1685,) the said Richard Rumbold, malster, was brought to his trial. His indictment bore, that he had designed to kill the late King, at the Rye or Hogsdown, in his return from Newmarket to London, in April, 1683. *But in regard he positively denied the truth of this*, (though sundry had sworn it against him in England,) the King's advocate passed from that part, lest it should have disparaged or impaired the credit of the said English plot; therefore he insisted singly on the point, that he had associated himself with the late Argyle, a forfeited traitor,

and invaded Scotland, &c. All this he confessed and signed; and being interrogated if he was one of the masked executioners on King Charles the first's scaffold, he declared he was not, but that he was one of Oliver Cromwell's regiment then, and was on horseback at Whitehall that day, as one of the guard about the scaffold; and that he was at Dunbar, Worcester, and Dundee, a lieutenant in Cromwell's army. He said that James Stewart, advocate, told them Argyle would ruin all their affair, by lingering in the Isles and Highlands, and not presently marching into the inland country; wherein he had proved a true prophet, but might see it without a spirit of divination. And being asked if he owned the present King's authority, he craved leave to be excused, seeing he needed neither offend them, nor grate his own conscience, for they had enough whereon to take his life beside. He was certainly a man of much natural courage. His rooted ingrained opinion was, for a republic against monarchy, to pull which down, he thought a duty, and no sin. And on the scaffold he began to pray for that party which he had been owning, and to keep the three metropolitan cities of the three kingdoms right; *and if every hair of his head were a man*, he would venture them all in that cause. But the drums were then commanded to beat, otherwise he carried discreetly enough, and heard the ministers, but took none of them to the scaffold with him.

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